



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-088  
Monday  
7 May 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-088

### CONTENTS

7 May 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Gabon

New Prime Minister Announces Cabinet Members [PANA]	1
MORENA Leader Rejects Post [Libreville Africa No. 1]	1
MORENA Official Assails Government [PANA]	1
Mba Abbesole Meets With Bongo [Libreville Africa No. 1]	2
New Prime Minister Installed [PANA]	2

##### Zaire

Prime Minister Presents New Cabinet to Mobutu [AFP]	2
Cabinet List Released 4 May [AFP]	2
N'singa Appointed New MPR Chairman 2 May [Kinshasa Radio]	3
* Mobutu Under Added Pressure for Change [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 30 Mar]	4

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Ethiopia

Police Take Control of Hijacked Italian Plane [AFP]	5
EPLF Reports Over 2,000 Troops Put Out of Action [Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea]	5

##### Kenya

President on Multiparty System, U.S. Relations [Nairobi Radio]	5
Former Ministers Call For Multiparty System [AFP]	7
KANU Party Statement on Referendum [KNA]	7
Ex-Ministers Called 'American Puppets' [KNA]	7

#### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Reportage, Comment on Talks With ANC Continue	9
Talks Statement Issued [SAPA]	9
ANC To Reconsider 'Armed Struggle' [SAPA]	9
De Klerk Welcomes Results of Talks [SAPA]	10
De Klerk Denies 'Hidden Agenda' [SAPA]	10
De Klerk, Mandela News Conference [Johannesburg TV]	11
'Text' of Government-ANC Accord [SAPA]	15
Mandela on Negotiation Process [Johannesburg TV]	16
Government-ANC Talks Assessed [Johannesburg TV]	16
'Confusion' Arises Over Accord [Umtata Radio]	18
Former President P.W. Botha Withdraws From NP [Johannesburg TV]	18
De Klerk Reacts to Botha's Move [Johannesburg Radio]	18
P.W. Botha Discusses De Klerk, NP [RAPPORT 6 May]	19
Viljoen Acting President During De Klerk's Trip [Johannesburg Radio]	20
4 May Press Review on Current Problems, issues [THE CITIZEN, etc.]	20

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Ethiopia

Dos Santos Dismisses Minister, State Secretary [Luanda Radio] .....	23
Dos Santos Bans New Hard-Currency Stores [Luanda Radio] .....	23
UNITA Claims MPLA Fails To Seize Mavinga [KUP] .....	23

### Mozambique

Swazi Prime Minister Discusses Regional Issues [THE SWAZI OBSERVER 3 May] .....	23
Meets With President Chissano [Maputo Radio] .....	24
Mocumbi, Zimbabwe's Shamuyarira Tour Beira [Maputo Radio] .....	24
Mocumbi Discusses Draft Constitution Debates [Maputo Radio] .....	24

## WEST AFRICA

### Guinea

Emergency Aid Team Held by Unidentified Group [AFP] .....	25
---	----

### Guinea-Bissau

Communique Accuses Senegal of Overflights [PANA] .....	25
--	----

### Ivory Coast

President Approves Multi-Party Political System [Abidjan Radio] .....	25
Opposition Requests Dissolution of Government [Abidjan Radio] .....	25
Workers' Party Holds News Conference 5 May [Abidjan Radio] .....	26

### Liberia

Five Rebels Said Killed by Government Troops [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	26
Delegation Leaves for U.S. To Discuss Crisis [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	27
Official Briefs Press on Rebel Situation 2 May [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	27
Battles Force UN, Japanese Workers To Leave [AFP] .....	27
International Health Workers Disappear [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	28
Rebel Spokesman Says Israel Involved in Fighting [BBC] .....	28
Fire Breaks Out in Monrovia Military Building [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	28
President Doe Leaves for Togo, Nigeria 7 May [Monrovia Radio ELWA] .....	29

### Senegal

Dakar Denies Violating Guinea-Bissau's Airspace [AFP] .....	29
---	----

## Gabon

### New Prime Minister Announces Cabinet Members

AB3004110490 Dakar PANA in English 0942 GMT  
30 Apr 90

[Text] Libreville, 30 April (AGP-GAB/PANA)—The Gabonese newly appointed prime minister Casmir Oye Mba, on Sunday evening announced a 28-member cabinet, which includes 11 ministers from the previous government. The cabinet, which is transitory and charged with the preparation of the next legislative elections scheduled for October 1990, is composed of 23 full ministers and five ministers of state. The 11 ministers retained by Oye Mba are: Zacharie Myboto (public works), Ali Bongo (foreign affairs), Jules Ogoulinguende (trade), Henri Minko (lands) and Martin Fidele Magnaga (defence). Others are Antoine Mboumbou Miyakou (public service), Jean Ping (mines and hydrocarbons), Michel Anchouey (education) and Thierry Moussavou (labour).

Among the new comers are Fr. Paul Mba Abessole, the leader of the MORENA [National Resistance Movement] (Boucherons) who becomes minister of justice, Serge Mba of the Gabonese Socialist Union (health), Jean Remy Pendy Bouyiki (reformer) at the Ministry of Information while Andre Mba-Obame takes over agriculture and Pepin Mongokokodji (state control).

Simon Oyonno-Abala founder of the now broken up National Recovery Movement was named deputy minister in the prime minister's office in charge of decentralisation.

According to Oye Mba, the new cabinet has been tailored to meet certain demands by the public whose support will be necessary in the accomplishment of its assigned mission. "The team gives a signal of political openness in that all the provinces are represented, although not all villages and homesteads", said Oye Mba, who was previously governor of the Central Bank of Central African States.

### MORENA Leader Rejects Post

AB3004155390 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Excerpt] New Gabonese cabinet members were appointed yesterday in Libreville by Prime Minister Casmir Oye-Mba. The new cabinet includes 28 members, including five secretaries of state. The previous government comprised 41 ministers. The first fact to be noticed is that this is a reduced team in charge of managing the transition period up to the next legislative elections, with 18 newcomers entering the government. The second fact is that several members of the opposition have been appointed. One of them, Paul Mba Abessole, the leader of the National Resistance Movement (MORENA Lumberjacks) has been appointed minister of justice and keeper of the seals. But Mr. Mba Abessole declines to be a member of this government. He spoke with reporter Frank Medome:

[Begin recording] [Mba Abessole] I declined the appointment for two main reasons. The first reason is rather superficial. I was appointed minister without any previous consultation, and I think that this is a democratic process and democracy means that one cannot take a decision on behalf of someone else. Everyone should be consulted and associated with any decision-making process, especially when the decision directly concerns this person.

The second reason is more serious, and is ideological. We have just completed the national conference, and we made an effort to thoroughly discuss a government. The French word that has been chosen is this: a different government, not just a new cabinet. A different government means that the new cabinet should not have included members of the previous government; but this was not the case. The national conference was of the utmost importance for us, and we agreed to implement the decisions and proposals made during the deliberations. It was not to be. I therefore said no, no, and no.

[Medome] You declined to become the minister of justice, but what would have been your reaction if you were appointed prime minister?

[Mba Abessole] I have always told you that the objectives of MORENA have nothing to do with a ministerial post. We want the Gabonese people to understand what we intend to do to prepare for the legislative elections, and it is during these elections that the Gabonese people will say what they really want. It is only at that moment that those who have been elected will become the people's choice. I think it is only at that moment that a legitimate cabinet will be appointed. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### MORENA Official Assails Government

AB3004184690 Dakar PANA in English 1536 GMT  
30 Apr 90

[Text] Libreville, 30 April. (AGP-GAB/PANA)—An official of the Movement for National Recovery in Gabon the original MORENA opposition group Rev. Noel Ngwa, said on Monday in Libreville that Father Paul Mba Abessole, leader of the dissident MORENA faction, was not well taken care of in the newly-formed transition government. The government formed by new Prime Minister Oye Mba on Sunday is to see the country through its political reforms programme, leading to democratic pluralism, according to the decisions of the all-party national talks held recently. Ngwa told the GABONESE NEWS AGENCY in an interview that Abessole, who has led the most visible opposition to the government of President Omar Bongo since many years, expected more than he was given in the new formation. After having lost the post of prime minister, the nomination of Abessole to the post of minister of justice in the new transition government amounted to "lack of recognition of his weight," Ngwa stated. A few hours after the list of the members of the new government was made



public, Abessole indicated he would refuse the offer because he had not been consulted earlier.

Speaking on the nomination of Oyonno Aba'a, one of the founders of MORENA, as a minister delegate in the Office of the Prime Minister, Ngwa criticised the manner the nomination of the members of the new government was made. The government comprised 24 ministers chosen from President Bongo's Gabonese Democratic Party and four only from the opposition parties, he added. Ngwa noted that the ruling party was consulted before any nomination was made while the opposition was not sufficiently represented. Without questioning the personality of the new prime minister, who, he said, was deeply respected by the various political groups, Ngwa said that some departments such as Information, Interior, Housing and Public Works, should have been attributed to political parties other than the ruling one.

#### **Mba Abbesole Meets With Bongo**

*AB0305223390 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 1 May 90*

[Text] In Gabon, people continue to comment on the formation of the transition government announced two days ago. Commentaries today seem to center on the resignation of the National Recovery Movement [MORENA] Lumberjack, Paul Mba Abbesole, who refused to accept his appointment as minister of justice and keeper of the seals. Paul Mba Abbesole has officially resigned. For the moment, there have been no other formal resignations. Today, therefore, the Gabonese Government has 28 members, including the head of the government, Cassimir Oye Mba. It remains now to designate a minister of justice and keeper of the seals as Mba Abbesole had resigned of his own will without taking office. What is going to happen now? Well, yesterday evening the MORENA leader was granted a lengthy audience in Libreville by the Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo. After his discussions with the president of the Republic, Mba Abbesole confirmed his resignation:

[Begin Abbesole recording] I would like to say that this does not portend a systematic and savage opposition. For me, there are reasons of timing. As MORENA is still a young movement and I am its leader, I must have enough freedom to firmly establish it and travel throughout the country with ease. With a ministerial portfolio, this would be very difficult. We are, however, agreed on one fact; that is, I will choose one or two names from among my friends that I could propose to the prime minister. It will be up to him and the president of the Republic to see which of them meets the criteria for appointment as justice minister. [end recording]

#### **New Prime Minister Installed**

*AB0305224790 Dakar PANA in English 1535 GMT  
3 May 90*

[Text] Libreville, 3 May (AGP-GAB/PANA)—Gabonese head of state Omar Bongo on Thursday formally installed the new prime minister of the country, Mr. Casimir Oye

Mba, who is to head the transition government. The formation of the government, comprising entirely new members, followed a decision of the national conference on political reforms which called for the introduction of multiparty democracy in the central African country. Some leaders of political opposition groups have however criticised the membership of the government, made public on Sunday in Libreville, saying that it was not sufficiently representative and consisted overwhelmingly of the members of the ruling party.

Meanwhile, President Bongo will on Friday preside at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Gabonese Democratic Party, the sole party in power since some 21 years ago. Bongo, the founding father of the party, has since the national conference held from 23 March to 19 April said that he would assume a role beyond partisan party politics. The Political Bureau will decide the time for the next congress of the party.

#### **Zaire**

#### **Prime Minister Presents New Cabinet to Mobutu**

*AB0405152190 Paris AFP in French 1425 GMT  
4 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 4 May (AFP)—The Zairian Prime Minister, Mr. Lunda Bululu, who was appointed on 25 April by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, today released the list of his transition cabinet. It is made up of 40 members (including 14 secretaries of state), as against 51 in the last cabinet, which was reshuffled in January. It is, therefore, a reduced and largely new team that Mr. Bululu presented at N'sele (40 km north of Kinshasa), to the Zairian head of state, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko. In the view of all commentators, this new cabinet, which is directly under the authority of the prime minister and not under the president, as was the case in the past, is very technical and its prime responsibility will be to address the country's serious economic problems. New ministers who do not belong to the traditional political class have thus been appointed to head the important economy-related ministries of Finance, Budget, and Agriculture.

No member of the Zairian opposition is participating in this cabinet, which has one year to implement reform—including the establishment of a three-party political system—as announced on 24 April by the head of state. The Cabinet is charged with ensuring the transitional phase until April 1991, the date for the official implementation of the new constitution, which will then be subjected to a popular referendum. In another development, it has been officially announced that the top officials of the radio and the television have been replaced.

#### **Cabinet List Released 4 May**

*AB0405203290 Paris AFP in French 1838 GMT  
4 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 4 May (AFP)—This is the composition of the new Zairian Government formed by the new prime minister, Lunda Bululu. It was released this afternoon at N'sele, 40 km north of the Zairian capital:

Prime Minister and Head of Government	Lunda Bululu (new)
Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Territorial Administration and Decentralization	Engulu Baangapongo Bakokele Lokanga (new)
Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Industry, External Trade, and Cottage Industry	Nzanda Bwana Kalemba
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Mushobekwa Kalimba Wa Katana
Minister of National Defense, Territorial Security, and Veterans' Affairs	Admiral Mavua Mudina
Minister of Justice	Tshibangu Muyemba (new)
Minister of Citizens' Rights and Freedoms	Okitakula Djambokota
Minister of Information, Arts, and Culture	Ngongo Kamanda
Minister of Relations With Parliament	Banza Mukalay (new)
Minister of Planning	Ilunga Ilunkamba
Minister of International Cooperation	Buketi Bukaya
Minister of Finance	Bombito Botomba
Minister of Budget	Mananga Ma Pholo
Minister of Agriculture, Rural Mobilization, and Community Development	Onyeme Pene Butu (new)
Minister of Housing Affairs, Mines, and Energy	Mboso N'kodia Fwanga (new)
Minister of Public Works, Urban Affairs, and Housing	Bangila Basia (new)
Minister of Transport and Communications	Kimasi Matwiku Basaula (new)
Minister of Higher and University Education and Scientific Research	Akia Mugambe
Minister of Primary, Secondary, and Professional Education	Koli Elombe Motokoa (new)
Minister of Public Health and Social Affairs	Bosha Bokwete (new)
Minister of Environment, Nature Conservation, Tourism, Housing	Diur Katond
Minister of Labor and Social Security	Mrs. Maduka Inyanga
Minister of Women's and Family Affairs	Mrs. Muyabo N'kulu
Minister of Civil Service	Bassala N'gandu Wa Milandu (new)
Minister of Posts and Telecommunications	Lengelo Muyangandu (new)
Minister of Youth, Sports, and Leisure	Nyamwisi Muvi (new)

Secretaries of State:

Secretary of State for Territorial Administration and Decentralization	Ndondo Koni Mobonda (new)
Secretary of State for Industry, Commerce, and Cottage Industry	Lukonde Ngenge (new)
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	Mapessa Udjuu (new)
Secretary of State for National Defense	Brigadier General Kalume Numbi (new)
Secretary of State for Justice	Mrs. Miteo Lola Maratumbi (new)
Secretary of State for Information	N'zuzi Mulamba (new)
Secretary of State for International Cooperation	Soza Mbuzu Temape (new)
Secretary of State for Finance	Kwimi Nsel
Secretary of State for Agriculture	Bizanou Bitunda (new)
Secretary of State for Housing Affairs	Kiro Kimathi Ndato
Secretary of State for Transport and Communications	Mulamba Musambay
Secretary of State for Higher Education	Bayombo Mholiabwe (new)
Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary Education	Ndom Nda Umbel (new)
Secretary of State for Environment and Nature Conservation	Lombo Kanza (new)

**N'singa Appointed New MPR Chairman 2 May**

EA0405135890 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French  
0500 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Citizen N'singa Udjuu Ongwankebi Untube,

former chairman of the Judicial Council and recently the permanent secretary of the People's Movement of the Revolution [MPR] Political Bureau, was appointed on 2 May by his fellow MPR Central Committee members [words indistinct] chairman of this political formation.

The appointment of citizen N'singa occurred following the dispatch, on the same day, of a note from Marshal Mobutu to the permanent secretary of the MPR Central Committee, in which the former party chairman notified him officially of his resignation from the chairmanship of the MPR in line with the spirit of his 24 April message to the nation.

His successor was then appointed during a meeting convened immediately. Citizen N'singa will chair a temporary directorate, which will be in charge of the restructuring of the MPR by working out the (?statutes) and by setting up definitive [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, we hear that some members of the former [as heard] MPR Central Committee, who opened negotiations to create a political body described as the Christian Social Democratic (?and which would include) citizen Ileo Songoamba [a former permanent secretary of the MPR Political Bureau], have just returned to the MPR for undisclosed reasons. They are notably citizen (Ngozi wa Dondo), [names indistinct].

#### \* Mobutu Under Added Pressure for Change

90AF0051A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 30 Mar 90 p 55

[Article by Washington correspondent Jose Ricardo:  
"Zaire Wants Its Own Perestroika"]

[Text] The appeals for a multiparty system or for greater political openness, which are being made all over the African continent, have finally emerged in Zaire, as well.

According to the news agency AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, pamphlets have been distributed criticizing the president of Zaire in violent terms and appealing for the introduction of a multiparty system in Zaire.

At a meeting of the representatives of the People's Movement of the Revolution (MPR), the single party which controls political life in Zaire, President Mobutu attacked the authors of the "insidious literature" which he says is sowing chaos in the country.

The complaints voiced by the people of Zaire are to be analyzed by the MPR in April, so that the party can respond with what the press in Kinshasa calls "Zairian perestroika."

The issues of political freedoms and the human rights situation in Zaire have been discussed at length in the American press. Last year, when he visited Washington following the Gbadolite conference, Mobutu responded with irritation to the newsmen who asked him about the status of human rights in his country.

In last Saturday's edition, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that the United States had protested to Zaire about the attacks made upon two lawyers investigating the status of human rights in Zaire. It was suspected that Zairian security personnel were the perpetrators.

The two lawyers, Makau Mutua and Peter Rosenblum, were set upon as they left their hotel in Kinshasa on 15 March in the course of their search for information on behalf of the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights in New York. Mutua, who is a Kenyan but lives in New

York, told the TIMES he had no doubt that the attackers were security agents, but the Zairian authorities deny any involvement in the case.

Because of the growing criticism of the policies pursued by Mobutu, an old and powerful ally of the United States, members of the Black Caucuses in the Congress have urged that all assistance to Zaire be cut off, with the exception of humanitarian aid.

Apparently the efforts of the congressmen have come up against a strong and heavily financed pro-Mobutu lobby in Washington.

This affair merited an extensive and detailed front-page article in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL entitled "Congo Drums—Zaire's Mobutu Is Waging a Public Relations Campaign on All Fronts for the Continuation of American Aid."

Zaire receives \$60 million from the United States every year, in addition to loans from the IMF (\$179 million in 1989) and the World Bank (\$87 million). The support of the United States plays a decisive role in the process of obtaining these loans.

It was to refute his critics and to ensure the maintenance of or to increase the level of American aid that President Mobutu launched the public relations campaign which THE WALL STREET JOURNAL documented so extensively.

This effort in favor of Mobutu is headed by the Korean Tongsun Park, a "veteran" of lobbying activity for the benefit of his own country in Washington. In addition to Park, Mobutu has contracted for the services of Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly, at a cost of \$1 million.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, however, says that Mobutu's most important ally in Washington is Mamada Diane, an international businessman who is little known but exerts great influence in the defense of Mobutu's image.

Diane, the son of a former president of the Chamber of Deputies in Guinea-Conakry, who is now an American citizen, is waging an active campaign in Mobutu's favor with the American Congress, the article in question says.

Mobutu has proven to be an indispensable ally in the conduct of certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy. This was the case, for example, when South Africa withdrew its support from UNITA, and Zaire became the support point for aid to Jonas Savimbi's movement.

Mobutu continues to serve as an ally, despite the role of "mediator" he claimed for himself during the Angolan process.

According to ASSOCIATED PRESS reports this week, the United States has increased support for UNITA, through Zaire. Quoting an unidentified American diplomatic source in Kinshasa, that news agency reported that three Toyota Landcruisers were being equipped in Zaire every day for UNITA, and that fuel was also being sent to the same group from Zaire.

However, in Angola, it is Savimbi who is appealing for a multiparty system, while Jose Eduardo dos Santos is limiting himself to a timid perestroika.

## Ethiopia

### Police Take Control of Hijacked Italian Plane

AB0605220890 Paris AFP in English 2023 GMT  
6 May 90

[Excerpt] Rome, May 6 (AFP)—Ethiopian police took control of a hijacked Italian-owned plane in an Ethiopian border town Sunday and freed three hostages aboard, including four Westerners, who were unhurt, the Italian Foreign Ministry said here.

Two Somalis had hijacked the light plane from southern Somalia and forced it to land in Dolow, an Ethiopian town near the Somali border. They had held hostage the Italian pilot, earlier identified as Eros Pertini, Lucien Roggeman, a Belgian employee of the Italian construction firm Moori which owns the plane, Jim Bradley, a Briton working for the European Economic Community and based in Mogadishu, and Yare Mohamed Omer, a Somali also employed by Moori. The ministry said they were all unhurt but did not give their whereabouts. [passage omitted]

### EPLF Reports Over 2,000 Troops Put Out of Action

EA0405163390 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad  
Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 0400 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpt] The heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] people's army has put about 2,200 enemy soldiers out of action during the clearing of the enemy force which was in Adi Keyih, Senafe and their environs [in southern Eritrea]. Among them, 630 soldiers were killed, 760 others wounded and (?800) others captured. This figure does not include the more than 2,840 Dergue irregulars who have surrendered peacefully. Regarding equipment, the EPLF has captured 700 heavy, medium and light weapons in the battle of Adi Keyih, Senafe and their environs. [passage omitted]

## Kenya

### President on Multiparty System, U.S. Relations

EA0505090190 Nairobi Domestic Service  
in Swahili 1019 GMT 4 May 90

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi at Bar Korwa, Kisumu Rural Constituency; words in italics spoken in English—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Those who keep singing about this multiparty garbage did not fight for freedom, knowing its importance. [applause] If you want to know neo-colonialism, it is (?this). You read newspapers: Who is that person who (?works) at the Voice of America here and speaks on Kenyan issues? [laughter] It is the person who sold himself, went to another country, and broadcasts news against his country in order to betray it.

As my minister said: *We are a sovereign state, and we are equal with any other state which respects us. [applause] I support anybody who has an independent mind. Not everybody others have been used. But I believe that all Kenyans who are patriots cannot destroy their own culture. These, I have always said—These things you now hear are nothing but tribalism.*

Today it emerged perfectly clearly [applause] from these two people, Rubia and Matiba. It has all come out. Now, to go to talk to other countries and try to tarnish Kenya—is that right? We Africans, all over the African Continent—and I have said *never pretend to be yourself*—if you are Onyango [name identified with Luo tribe], you are Onyango. [laughter] [sentence as heard]

You know, formerly, the Luos and I usually... [changes thought] *I think that is in their (?history), culture, and (?legends).* Bishop Okullu says that 100 years ago—but we have already passed 100 years and now we are on the other side, so a black man today is a different thing. *That is an artificial way of thinking.* In Somalia, haven't they lived 100 years? Is there peace? [shouts of "No, no"] *What about Sudan?* [shouts of "No, no"] *What about Ethiopia. What about Uganda?* Twenty-four years. He says 100 years have now passed, so we can now implement the system of multiparty democracy. I say: Okullu is being told to say that, and I say *the Luos are not young people like this, these young people are free from that.* [applause] These people were born with Nyayo and so on, but there are those who when told: you are great, go forward and speak, they begin to speak, and then you should follow, because Matiba and this Rubia, especially Matiba, they were talking with Okullu, telling him to start it. [laughter] Now, Okullu starts without thinking about it.

I say that usually all Luos are equal. But the custom of the ancient Luos, for example, a person called Obio—he calls himself Mac Obio. [laughter] When he wants to say Onyulo, he says Onyuloy. [laughter] He makes himself a Scot, Mac, and Addis [as heard] among other things. [laughter] [passage omitted]

Therefore, I say, do not jump at things. First think about it before acting; otherwise, you will end up in the fire because a person will tell you to plunge into the fire first, and when you are burning, he escapes, leaving you burning. Thus, I am satisfied with the Nyanza Province people, for they are completely Nyayo, nothing else. [applause] You should remain as you are for the benefit of the children. If you want them to live in peace, you should remain as you are.

Do you know what happened in Kisumu one day because of the two parties? [reference to 1969 disturbances in Kisumu] How many people died? [shouts of "Many, many"] Have you already forgotten that? [shouts of "Not yet"]

Those who say: We want that, bring that—I usually do not like to be drawn into speaking about church leaders, but I was angered by Okullu, saying that the Kenyan



soldiers who are in Namibia, he likens them to those who go to cause trouble in other countries. Those who are in Namibia... [changes thought] It means he regards them [word indistinct] [applause] When I was asked by the Namibian Government—it asked the Kenyan Government if the Kenyan soldiers who served with other UN soldiers could remain there for three months to help in the *bilateral agreement*—I said they should continue; and they have done a good and commendable job. Now, these had no need to interfere in politics. They did not interfere in politics. They were only doing soldiers' work, safeguarding Namibian territorial integrity.

Therefore, I say, it was wrong for the bishop to mention these things. If any bishop or clergyman is interested in politics, he should leave church affairs and enter politics [shouts of "Yes, yes"] rather than disturbing the citizen while the citizen cannot remove him from the church. Uttering words which disturb the citizens, without them having the power to do anything about it. Therefore, these are the things I reject—mixing these issues. It is now that I also discover that they do not speak about corruption.

They do not say: yesterday we exposed to the government people who are eating three or four times what they should, but the government did nothing. They do not. Every day, we, the government, arrest those who are involved in smuggling, etc. They are attempting to ruin the government so that when it falls, they can come and assume leadership.

You think leading is easy. I am telling you, my brothers, sisters, and children, there is work for Africa, there is work in Africa. Because to a poor person *they can pay the blackmail*, the poor person, because he has nothing, he can steal the thing that he cannot get. Therefore, Africa will be confused, being told that if you do not do this, we will not give you any aid until you accept what you have to accept. Democracy is about asking the citizens what they want.

I do not coerce anybody in this country. I ask the citizens what they want and fulfill their wishes, not forcing them. I even laughed when this Matiba said: *We want immediate dissolution of Parliament*, etc. Doesn't this demonstrate that he is a real dictator? [shouts of "Yes, yes"] Before he embarked on his work, he had already become a dictator, saying: *immediate, immediate dissolution of Parliament and the election* and other things. What a goal! Isn't it a nominal (?election)?

Thus, people like this are: the people of whom we say... [changes thought] And I tell you, my brothers and children, this country will progress through unity. I have said that until the day when the citizens are completely united, *when we will have a cohesive society, [is] when public opinion will develop. But when you have tribal groupings* and so on, *you will be expressing tribal feelings. Those tribal feelings will divide people and, hence, fighting.* When an African is [word indistinct] he means fighting, not joking. When you go to Maasai land, then

talking means a club. Who has not seen things at Ngong and [place-name indistinct]? It was a spear.

An outsider, a European, cannot understand Africans. *And I cannot understand American society, I cannot nor can I pretend to know but African society I know, and they should ask me.*

They should not come to say *you must do this. You must do this. Are we children?* [the crowd shouts "No, no"] *Kenya is supposed to be more or less the best friend of America but the way it is behaving towards us is unbecoming for a friendly country.*

All the time I am giving permission of free movement to all places, like Siaya and other places. If the idea is to sow seeds of discord, I shall refuse. [applause]

Any country—any embassy—that comes to sow seeds of discord to stir up trouble and divide citizens will not be permitted because we want peace, we want peace. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi DAILY NATION in English on 4 May carries an article by Kwendo Opanga headlined: "U.S. Mounts Pressure for Multi-Parties" quoting U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, Smith Hempstone, as telling Parliamentarians in Nairobi on 3 May that "a strong political tide is flowing in our Congress, which controls the purse-strings, to concentrate our economic assistance on those of the world's nations that nourish democratic institutions, defend human rights and practise multi-party politics".

The DAILY NATION report went on: "Mr Hempstone said that it was not his duty to instruct the Kenya Government on how to govern its citizenry, and he did not presume to do so, but that he was merely relating a statement of fact about political life in America and which may become a fact of political life in other donor countries tomorrow".

"I do so because I want to see a stable, happy and prosperous Kenya in the years ahead," the DAILY NATION report quoted Hempstone as saying].

Kisumu District is a *front line*, even this constituency, because there is a lake. People enter and bring in guns, and so on. As you know, I have never sent people to stir up trouble in Uganda. I have never sent them; but there are many Ugandans who enter Kisumu, Kakamega, and this area for seditious reasons. Uganda does not know what is going on, so Kenya will review its position, because I believe in non-interference, and because we want peace, and Kenya wants peace, not war, and because life is sacrosanct: *preservation of life* we have to preserve. [passage omitted]

I want also to say that when Dr. Ouko died, many people said: government, government. Do you sincerely believe that the Moi government could kill a person? [shouts of "no, no"] Anybody who does that, it is a sin. God knows everything, who committed what and what has been done. Other people know, but they keep silent. You shroud yourself in sin. He was a person that I liked. I

would not appoint a person in whom I had no confidence and make him go to America, Britain, and anywhere. Could you send somebody you have no confidence in? [shouts of "No"] You cannot.

Now, this Ndolo Ayah is the foreign minister. I made investigations and found him to be suitable. He will carry my messages. So you should look after him properly. Just like Ouko, whom I had helped in elections and everything. Had I wanted to say that I did not want somebody, would I have had to kill someone? I would only have had to say that I did not want him, and he would have gone to cultivate his farm. Enough. You should not take people's words without thinking why they are saying them, what are their motives. [passage omitted]

### Former Ministers Call For Multiparty System

AB0305232790 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Nairobi, May 3 (AFP)—Two Kenyan former government ministers, including the prominent Kenneth Matiba who was recently detained by police, called Thursday for constitutional change to open the way to multi-party politics. Mr. Matiba and former housing minister Charles Rubia told a press conference that a constitutional amendment imposed by President Daniel arap Moi in 1982 to make KANU [Kenya African National Union] the sole legal party should be revoked. This move should be followed by the immediate dissolution of parliament and the organization of free elections, the ex-ministers told journalists here.

Mr. Matiba resigned from his post as transport and communications minister in December 1988 after alleging "rigging" in local elections to the Kenya African National Union (KANU). He was hauled in for questioning by police in March after being accused of wanting to form a political party. Mr. Rubia left the government in 1983. Several senior officials have recently publicly backed Mr. Moi's objections to a multiparty system in Kenya. Foreign Minister Wilson Ndolo Ayah on April 10 said that "tribal inclinations and consciousness are still paramount in the minds of many Kenyans."

Late last month, Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu of Maseno South became a target of official criticism when he said that KANU's 1982 enshrinement as the sole constitutionally legal party was a mistake.

All Kenyan MPs have to be KANU members and abide by the official line. On April 2, Information Minister Waruru Kanja lost his job after he implicated the government in the unexplained murder in February of then Foreign Minister Robert Ouko.

Several African countries have been swept by demands for multiparty systems in the wake of the collapse of the communist governments in Eastern Europe.

### KANU Party Statement on Referendum

AB0505074090 Nairobi KNA in English 1740 GMT  
4 May 90

[Text] [no dateline as received]—KANU [Kenya African National Union] headquarters statement by the national organising secretary:

I have been approached by the press to respond to the statement [by former Ministers Matiba and Rubia] calling for referendum in Kenya.

From KANU headquarters we are glad to note the lively debate going on as a clear evidence of the freedom of conscience and speech enshrined in the constitution of our beloved Republic and which KANU cherishes, and wonder what other referendum is required. KANU, however, urges political decency when we approach the institution of the head of state with requests or suggestions touching the exercise of constitutional presidential prerogatives. It is the height of political arrogance and ignorance to demand that the president of Kenya should exercise powers irregularly and unconstitutionally.

KANU cannot accept the highly misleading assertion that elections in this country have been characterised by rigging.

We have also noted that the ambassador of the USA has candidly unveiled the external pressures and manoeuvres calling for political restructuring in Kenya. Kenya's political system and democracy have evolved from Kenya's own history and can only be perceived and characterized within the totality of the Kenyan context. The same way that other sovereign nations determine their policies to suit their own national interests, so will sovereign Kenya determine her policies.

It is Kenyan national interests that must prevail at all times. We assert, as we have always done, that national interests must never be dictated by external forces, for Kenya is a sovereign state, a fact which is not negotiable and which cannot be compromised at any cost.

We at KANU headquarters urge Kenyans to remain firm in defence of their hard-won independence and should be prepared to call the bluff of those in our midst who choose to act as agents of colonialism and chaos and those who betray their mother country.

### Ex-Ministers Called 'American Puppets'

EA0605183690 Nairobi KNA in English 0945 GMT  
6 May 90

[Text] Muranga, 6 May (KNA)—The KANU [Kenya African National Union] headquarters has warned Mr Kenneth Matiba and Mr Charles Rubia against inciting university students to destabilise the government. KANU Secretary-General Mr. Joseph Kamotho said this in a statement today, which stated that KANU is fully aware of the clandestine activities being carried out by the two, and will do anything to stop them. KANU has

also cautioned the students to be aware of these subversive efforts to enlist them for destructive manoeuvres.

Mr Kamotho, who is also the minister for transport and telecommunications, said the young people are patriotic and should not be led into confusion. He added that wealthy people who since independence acquired wealth through corruption are the architects of destabilisation masterminded by foreigners. He urged all Kenyan to be

united, since Matiba and Rubia are urban tycoons who have no concern for the welfare of the country. He said that the two used Voice of America address equipment during their press conference to attack the government.

"In addition their press conference was done at the same time when the American ambassador attacked one-party democracy. It is then obvious that the two are American puppets," he said.



## Reportage, Comment on Talks With ANC Continue

### Talks Statement Issued

MB0405154990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1549 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Cape Town May 4 SAPA—The government and the ANC [African National Congress] have agreed to establish a working group to investigate the release of political prisoners, and the government has undertaken to review security legislation to bring it into line with the "new dynamic situation" in SA.

These were the two main points of a joint statement issued by the government and the ANC on Friday at the end of their three-day talks at Groote Schuur.

The statement was issued shortly before ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and State President Mr F.W. de Klerk addressed a joint news conference at the H.F. Verwoerd Building here.

Titled "The Groote Schuur Minute", the statement said the government reiterated its commitment of working towards lifting the state of emergency.

"In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfill the objectives contained in the preamble."

The preamble says: "The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Flowing from this commitment, the two delegations had agreed on the establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation.

The group would discuss time scales connected to this definition and would advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa.

"All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere."

The group would aim to complete its work before May 21 this year.

It was understood that the South African Government might, at its discretion, consult other political parties, movements and other relevant bodies.

The proceedings of the working group would be confidential.

"In the meantime the following offences will receive immediate attention: leaving the country without a valid

travel document and any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited."

In addition, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before Friday, May 4 would be urgently considered for members of the National Executives Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country. This would enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, assist in bringing violence to an end and take part in peaceful negotiations.

"The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities."

Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC would be established to effectively curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter.

"The government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible."

The press conference given by Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela started at 5:30 p.m. [1530 GMT] and was scheduled to last half an hour.

### ANC To Reconsider 'Armed Struggle'

MB0405165790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1656 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Cape Town May 4 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was going to take a hard and earnest look at the armed struggle in the spirit of the agreement reached with the government on Friday, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said.

He told a joint press conference, called at the conclusion of three days of talks between the former banned organisation and state President Mr F.W. de Klerk's negotiating team, that the ANC's National Executive [NEC] would be convened in order for his team to report on the talks.

An appropriate decision would be taken with respect to the armed struggle, he said.

He was not in a position to anticipate any of the NEC's reactions and decisions with respect to the talks.

The important thing was that the letter of the agreement reached with the government had to be carried out.

"We will honour every word in this document," he said, referring to a two-page communique setting out the agreement reached at the Groote Schuur talks.

Asked about the continuing violence, he said the answers were contained in the document and the ANC intended carrying them out.

"The ANC will, therefore, look into the armed struggle in that spirit and take the appropriate decision."

When asked about the issue again later, he said: "We will look hard and earnestly at the question of the armed struggle."

Asked about violence in Natal he said the ANC had, on countless occasions, emphasised the importance of tolerance and the right of other parties to canvass and put forward their views without interference.

"If any sort of intimidation by any member of the ANC has taken place, it was done outside the policy of the ANC," he said.

"We are in a different situation from the government," he said. Experienced leader had been forced into exile, others were thrown into jail over the past 30 years.

"There has been nobody to explain the policies of the organisation or to instil discipline."

Many of the youths were born in the past 30 years when the organisation was not there to inform and discipline them.

"If any are guilty, you must judge them against this background," he said.

"Now that we are legal, we see it as our duty to stress discipline and tolerance and we are getting the support of our membership," the ANC leader said.

#### **De Klerk Welcomes Results of Talks**

*MB0405170390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1703 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town, May 4, SAPA—The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, and the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, said on Friday their three days of talks had been straightforward, cordial and conducted in a spirit of conciliation and understanding.

"It is the realisation of a dream for which we have been working for the past three years," Mr. Mandela told a joint press conference at the conclusion of the talks. He said, in answering questions, that the National Party government and the ANC were the main political players without which there could be no peaceful solution in the country. The ANC recognised the right of other parties to put their views forward and rejected intimidation and violence as a policy.

Mr. de Klerk opened the press conference saying that a communique which had been issued reflected the consensus reached at the talks. It was an important breakthrough in the process which the government wanted in South Africa. "It has been our goal, with regard to all South Africans, to remove distrust and replace it with greater understanding," he said.

Mr. Mandela said both delegations had come to the table in the spirit of letting bygones be bygones. "We were able to conduct the discussions without bitterness and see the common good between us," he said. This was the reason for the success of the talks. "A striking feature of the talks has been their cordiality." At the end they were not only closer to each other but all victors. "The government and the ANC are the main players in the search for peace. There can be no peace unless these two come to an agreement or effective solution." He stressed that the ANC had never claimed to be the sole representative of blacks.

Mr. Mandela said the support of all South Africans and the international community was required to implement the agreement reached with the government.

Asked about sanctions and government opposition to them, he said the ANC would not alter any of its strategies but would not ask the international community for an intensification of sanctions against the country.

He was also asked whether he thought apartheid was dead or dying.

"Let me reply by saying what I told the state president. When I went to prison 27 years ago I had no vote. Now I still have no vote due to the colour of my skin."

He and his team, however, had not the slightest doubt that President de Klerk, and his government, meant what he said about moving in a new direction.

"We have no doubt whatsoever of their integrity after three days of exchanging views," he said.

Mr. de Klerk commented in good humour: "While apartheid is going in South Africa, anti-apartheid movements are keeping it alive."

#### **De Klerk Denies 'Hidden Agenda'**

*MB0405171190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1711 GMT 4 May 90*

[Excerpts] Cape Town May 4—State President Mr F.W. de Klerk's view on group rights were opposed not only by the ANC [African National Congress], but apparently by some of the organs of the National Party [NP] as well, ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Friday.

His remarks came at their joint press conference after Mr de Klerk had answered a question on group rights.

Mr de Klerk said the NP had won an election on the basis that it had to ensure the general right to vote and the right to participation in government at all levels by all South Africans.

"We have, as a party, a mandate to ensure in a new constitutional system that minorities will be protected against domination in any form."

"We also have a clear stance that we are not ideologically obsessed with the group, that the group concept should not be defined on a racialistic basis."

The NP would like to enter into discussions on how the reality of groups in SA should be accommodated in a non-discriminatory way.

"Our intention with group is not a hidden agenda to continue minority domination over a majority."

When he had finished speaking, Mr Mandela said the question was such an important one that he would like to express the ANC's views, even though he had not been invited to do so. [passage omitted]

The concept of group rights the NP was advocating had been attacked even by the mouthpiece of the NP itself, while another organ of the NP had recently said the concept of group rights gave the impression of apartheid in disguise.

"The views being expressed by Mr de Klerk are not only opposed by us, but, it appears, some of the organs of the NP can no longer subscribe to any racially-based solution." [passage omitted]

Asked whether an interim government had been discussed, he said the talks centered solely on stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations.

"They can in no way be described as constitutional talks. They did not address constitutional issues in any way whatsoever." [passage omitted]

#### De Klerk, Mandela News Conference

MB0405213590 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 4 May 90

[News conference by President F.W. de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, with unidentified correspondents after talks between RSA Government and ANC delegations on 4 May; questions and answers in English unless otherwise noted—recorded in progress]

[Text] [De Klerk] ...That the discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere, there was an opportunity for straightforward discussions. We talked in a straight forward manner. All the facts were put on the table, and there was open interaction between the two delegations.

I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process which we want to take place in South Africa. It has been this government's goal to normalize the political process. Today we can say that a great step forward has been made in the process.

It has been our goal to improve the climate for negotiation and to create a climate conducive for negotiation. I sincerely believe that we have taken an important step in that direction.

With regard to all South Africans, it has been our goal to remove distrust and replace it with greater understanding. I sincerely believe this meeting also served that purpose. In that sense of the word, the joint commitment to peaceful solutions which will lead to real negotiation, which can lead to real negotiation, is of extreme importance to all the people of South Africa.

I look to the future with confidence, and I appreciate the good spirit and the earnestness and the honesty which was a hallmark of these discussions.

I would also like to offer Dr. Mandela the opportunity to make a few introductory comments.

[Mandela] The striking feature of the discussions which were heard during the last three days has been their cordiality. We have held discussions on sensitive matters in a spirit of conciliation and understanding.

The African National Congress [ANC] has taken the initiative to get the government and the ANC to sit down together and hammer out a peaceful solution.

We look at these discussions with satisfaction because it is the realization of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years. We say so, not in the spirit of either boasting or claiming credit for the success of the discussions. We went into these discussions in the spirit that there should neither be victors nor losers, and at the end of the discussions, not only are we closer to one another, the ANC and the Government, but we are all victors. South Africa is a victor.

The important thing is going to be the implementation of this agreement, and there is a realization on the part of both delegations that it is important that these obstacles which we have identified in the document should be removed at the earliest possible convenience.

We in the African National Congress are convinced that both our organization, as well as the government, mean to do just that, and we hope we will get the support of all South Africans and the international community in this important objective. Thank you.

[De Klerk] Any questions? Mr. Keyter.

[SABC correspondent Clarency Keyter, in Afrikaans] What about other parties in South Africa on negotiations? What about ending violence?

[De Klerk, in Afrikaans] If I may say, consultations on the document specifically deal with the question of political prisoners, of people outside South Africa. It does not concern only the ANC.

When arrangements have been made, this will concern all who can satisfy the definitions, and because it will involve all, one will have to determine if other interested parties must also be given opportunities to make insets concerning the definitions.

On the second question, namely which parties will be involved in negotiations, it is too soon to say exactly who will be involved, but it has always been the government's stand that, in the real negotiations, all existing leaders with existing supportive corps, not only the government, and the National Party, and the ANC, but all who have an interest in the future of South Africa, will be involved, and in that sense of the word, negotiations must be a multiparty opportunity. That is our stand. I would like Dr. Mandela to add to this.

[Mandela] The African National Congress and the government are the main players in this country in the search for peace. There can be no peace in this country unless these two parties, these two organizations, come to an agreement to an effective settlement.

But, the African National Congress has never claimed to be the sole representative of the black people in this country. We recognize, a fact which we have stated over and over again, that there are other interested parties in this regard, and it would only be proper at some stage to seek their views on the important question which we have been discussing over the last three days.

[Keyter] The second part of my question: What would the test be for ending violence?

[Mandela] Everything that has been said in this document the African National Congress intends to fulfill and carry out. In that spirit, the African National Congress will look into the question of the armed struggle, and make appropriate decisions...

[De Klerk, interrupting in Afrikaans] If I may just say, there is a clear commitment to peaceful solutions and a clear stand against violence and intimidation. This document creates a starting point for a situation where a strong stand is already taken against violence and intimidation and everything that goes with it.

[Correspondent] Can I ask a question connected to the point number five, where it says that official channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established.

I would like to ask both the president and Mr. Mandela whether this, in fact, amounts to a form of a joint security commitment, as those used in the case of the Namibian (?settlement) and what the time frame would be on these points and during the next meeting between the two parties represented here.

[De Klerk] No dates for a next meeting, as such, have been set.

A steering committee has made a tremendous contribution in the preparation for the talks and also during the talks. Dr. Mandela and I have met more than once since his release, so in a certain sense he has been in contact with some of the ministers on specific issues from time to time. So, in the certain sense, channels for communication have already been established.

I do not, necessarily, foresee the formation, in a very formal manner, of a standing committee at this time. There is this working group, and what is intended by that paragraph, as far as I am concerned, is that there must be open channels for communication, and as and when the need arises, especially also as a result of the work to be done by the working group, obviously a date will be set for further meetings, not necessarily of the same format, not necessarily with the same representatives.

What is important is to note that a target date has been set in Paragraph 1 for the working committee to report, and, obviously, when that report is received, that would be the first real moment when there will be a definite need for further interaction with regard to the formalizing of the working group's work.

[Mandela] I confirm what the state president has said, that there already exists some machinery in this regard, namely the steering committee, which is composed of members of the ANC and those of the government. This steering committee has been working for quite some time on common problems and preparing for this meeting.

It is also true that I have been in regular contact both with the state president, as well as various ministers, but we would prefer some structured form of communication. Although I have been in touch with the state president, as well as other ministers, it is always far better that the organization itself, through a recognized structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace. We are looking into this matter as the ANC, and in due course we may make a recommendation to the government.

[Correspondent] Mr. Mandela, the statement that has been made sets itself out against intimidation. One presumes, therefore, that the ANC accepts the right of other parties to oppose it against a sort of intimidation and violence we have experienced in Natal.

Is that correct? And is there anything the ANC can do to try and stop the violence there in [word indistinct]?

[Mandela] The ANC has on countless occasions emphasized the importance of tolerance in the course of our political work.

The right of other parties to canvas and put forward their views without interference from other political organizations, that is our standpoint. It has always been our standpoint.

If there has been any sort of intimidation from any member of the ANC then that has been done outside the policy of the organization.

We must remember in making judgment on questions of this nature that we are in a totally different position from that of the government and other white parties in this country. Our organization has been banned for the last 30 years. Experienced leaders of the organization had



been forced into exile. Other well trained and experienced leaders of the movement had been thrown into jail, and those members who have remained inside the country have been gagged. Therefore there was nobody to explain the policy of the organization to instill discipline.

You must remember that for many of the youth, who are active to date, were born during the last 30 years when the organization was illegal and when there was nobody to explain the policy of the organization. If, therefore, any of our members were guilty of intimidation, you must judge their action against this background.

Now that the organization has been legalized, we have considered it to be our duty to stress the question of discipline, the question of tolerance, and I think we are getting support from our membership, and I, therefore, would urge you to look at the matter from the background which I have outlined.

[Correspondent] Mr. Mandela, in your opening remarks I believe your last point was the need for international cooperation. Could you tell us what form that international cooperation should take? And also, could you address the question of sanctions?

[Mandela] We have made it clear time without number that the strategies which we have adopted will remain in place until insofar as sanctions are concerned and quite apart from the agreement which is outlined in this paper, will remain in place.

We are, therefore, not issuing any new course, nor are we appealing to the international community to do anything other than the strategies on which, at our invitation, they are busy with at this time. But, we hope that, as a result of the agreement which we have arrived at and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions...

[De Klerk, interrupting] May I just say in this regard that on this, Dr. Mandela and I obviously disagree. We in the government do not believe that sanctions are justified. We sincerely believe that it is to the detriment of the people of South Africa, and we sincerely believe that, inasmuch as it ever might have been argued that it was justified, which we totally disagree with, the time has come for that to fall away.

[Correspondent, in Afrikaans] Mr. Mandela, could you perhaps tell us how soon the National Executive Committee [preceding three words in English] will be meeting, and can we expect from that meeting a revision of the ANC policy on armed struggle?

[Mandela] Well, the National Executive of the ANC meets from time to time. We will naturally call a meeting to report to the ANC, to the National Executive, on the discussions that were held. But, I am not in a position,

nor have I the right to anticipate what its decision will be on any particular aspect of the report that we are going to give to them.

[Correspondent] My question is to Mandela. Can you give us your assessment on the condition of apartheid in South Africa? Is it dead, or is it dying?

[Mandela] Well, I must tell you what I have told the state president and his delegation that 27 years ago when I went to jail, I had no vote, and 27 years thereafter, I still have no vote, and that is due to the color of my skin.

The state president and the government have made several statements in which they announced that they are following the new direction. I have not the slightest doubt that the state president means what he says, and I have had for the last three days had the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation, and I have no doubt whatsoever about their integrity, and I think in saying so I am expressing not only my views but the views of my delegation. But, the reality is that I still have no hope. You can then decide whether apartheid is alive or not.

[De Klerk] Can I just say that we have also, I think, a broad consensus on the fact that, before a new constitutional dispensation which will grant a vote to all South Africans can be constituted and implemented, there is general agreement, there is a need that there must be real and fundamental negotiations about it.

In that sense of the word, therefore, that part of it will have to wait until we really get the negotiation process going. Our talks of the past three days, and this document, is an important step forward to move to the point where we can negotiate, and from that will flow the final solution to the problem stated by Dr. Mandela.

In a lighter vein, I can say, while apartheid is going in South Africa, the anti-apartheid movements are keeping it alive. [laughter]

[Correspondent] In line of what you have just said, do you think it was a mistake to wait this long to release Mr. Mandela, to unban the ANC? In other words, do you wish you it had been done maybe 10 years before?

[De Klerk] Well, with hindsight one could always come to many, many conclusions. Different circumstances prevail from time to time. I am just glad that we are where we are and we look forward and not backward at this point in time.

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[De Klerk] You were referring to which paragraph?

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[De Klerk] You must read Paragraph 2 together with Paragraph 1. Paragraph 1 sets out the procedure, and only after the work of the working group has been

completed will the total problem be addressed. Paragraph 2 relates to specifics in the interim period, with regard to what is circumscribed therein. In the final analysis, immunity is a well-known constitutional power which vests in the heads of almost all Western civilized states, and when it is applied, it will be applied within the framework of the norms which will flow from also the process set out in Paragraph 1.

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[De Klerk] The talks centered solely on the question of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation and can in no way be described as constitutional talks in that sense of the word. We did not address real constitutional issues in any way whatsoever.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] the ANC practically on the question of armed struggle been changed for [words indistinct].

[Mandela] Well, perhaps you are far away from us. I would suggest that you should come closer because we have expressly dealt with that question. I have pointed out that we will honor every word in this agreement. It is our document, and we are therefore going to look very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle in light of this agreement.

[Correspondent] Are you moving forward with the (?question) of armed struggle, Mr. Mandela?

[Mandela] We are going to look into the entire question of armed struggle. Please be satisfied with that.

[Correspondent] I take it, Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, that yesterday we heard from one of the delegates to the talks, Mr. Mbeki. Is it a general sort of feeling about the [words indistinct] security says that both sides seem to [word indistinct] discovered that neither side has won and that perhaps these talks should [word indistinct] took a long time coming [words indistinct] going through a bit more specific detail as to whether these talks [words indistinct] something differently or you might have been [words indistinct].

[De Klerk] Yes, I would say that the interaction and the talks gave the additional advantage of allowing people sitting around the table to get to know each other, to really form an impression as to the sincerity of those people, as to what makes their minds tick, what motivates them. In that sense of the word, I think also one would describe it as very fruitful and a very positive experience in the sense that it has built better understanding, I think, in both the direction of motivations, of problems, and of why people are doing certain things. And, I also think it serves to eradicate certain misunderstandings which might have existed before.

[Mandela] The important thing is that both delegations went into these talks with the spirit of letting bygones be bygones. We were, therefore, able to conduct these discussions without any bitterness. We were able to see the common ground between us, and it is on that that we

concentrated, and I think that this is one of the reasons for the success of the discussions.

[Correspondent] Mr. Mandela [words indistinct] that your organization [words indistinct].

[Mandela] If you want this question discussed over and over again, if you [word indistinct] as my answer to be given over and over again, I suggest that I should invite you for tea, and then we can discuss it.

[Correspondent] I would like to address this question to Mr. de Klerk. Having spent three days in intensive negotiations—or rather, talks; we have to make a distinction—with your leading adversaries, do you still believe that it is important for us in this country to maintain groups in any future constitution?

[De Klerk] Let me firstly say that we have won an election on the basis that we must ensure the general right to vote and the right of participation in government at all levels by all South Africans. We fought an election on that platform, and we have a mandate for that.

We also have as a party a mandate ensuring that in a new constitutional system minorities will be protected against domination and against oppression in any form. We also adopted a very clear stance, and I dealt with that at length in my discussions recently in Parliament, on the basis that we are not ideologically obsessed with groups, that groups—as a concept, if you equate that with minorities, or however you would like to approach it—should not be on a racial basis, and that we are looking into and we would also enter into discussions as to how the reality of the existence of groups in South Africa should be accommodated in a way which can not be described as discriminatory in any way whatsoever.

So, in that sense of the word, the debate about groups, yes, is an ongoing debate. But our intention with regard to groups, or minorities, or whatever you like to call it, is not a hidden agenda to continue in any form whatsoever, to continue minority domination over majorities in any way whatsoever.

[Mandela] Although this question has been addressed through Mr. De Klerk, it is so important that I would like to express our views, without invitation.

There is no organization in this country which is seen as competent and as qualified as the ANC to express an opinion in this regard, because over the years we have advocated the idea of a nonracial society. The government, whatever it may say, however it may formulate its views, has been forced by reality to abandon a naked policy of racism, and, as a mouthpiece of the NP [National Party] has said only very recently, the concept of group rights which the NP is advocating and which forms the cornerstone of their five-year plan has been attacked even by the mouthpieces of the NP itself.

One of the organs of the party, only in December of last year, said that the concept of group rights gives the impression of apartheid in disguise; that the NP is still

committed to a form of apartheid which they are no longer in a position to advocate publicly.

Then, another paper which is regarded as being very close to the NP, in its editorial warned the government, warned that the mistake of the government is to think in terms of whites in this country, and that it is paralyzed in bringing about a just solution because uppermost in its mind is not the welfare of South Africa, but of whites.

So, the views, therefore, which are being expressed by Mr. de Klerk, are not only opposed by us, but it appears that even some of the organs of the NP can no longer subscribe to any form of racial solution.

[De Klerk] I just want to state again that we also say that any solution in addressing the need to also protect minorities against domination must not be of a racialistic nature.

We are...[changes thought] you can see that long debates lie ahead when we come to the real negotiation situation.

[Reporter] This is for both Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk: In light of the success of the talks this week, do you anticipate increased opposition from those political forces in the country on the [words indistinct]?

[Mandela] Well, if we have taken steps which we believe are in the interest of South Africa, we believe that we have made the right decisions.

We are prepared to exchange views with political parties and organizations which do not fully agree with us on the steps that we have taken. Whether we are going to convince them is a different matter. But we, ourselves, are convinced of the fact that we have made the right decisions, and we will do our best to persuade them to join us.

[De Klerk] I think, in addition to what Dr. Mandela has said; I think that, yes, there might, and in all probability will be, increased opposition from certain sources. But I think that such opposition can only come from people who are in favor of violence, who are in favor of intimidation, or who do not share the view that real peace for South Africa can only be attained if all the people of this country are accommodated in a just and equitable manner.

Therefore, those against harmony or those who are terribly afraid, I think, will be against this. But, the overwhelming majority of all the people; whether they are black, white, colored, or Indian; will welcome this because it is a step toward a peaceful, new South Africa.

#### **'Text' of Government-ANC Accord**

MB0405175490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1753 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Cape Town, 4 May (SAPA)—Following is the text of the Groote Schuur Minute, the joint statement issued by the government and the ANC [African National Congress] on Friday after this week's talks.

Text begins:

The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation; to discuss, in this regard, time scales; and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21 May 1990. It is understood that the South African Government in its discretion may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately: (A) the leaving of the country without a valid travel document and (B) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.
2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in Paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end to take part in peaceful political negotiations.
3. The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.
4. The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble.
5. Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively.

The government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible.



### Mandela on Negotiation Process

MB0605190890 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Dr. Nelson Mandela says black South Africans fully support the negotiation process.

Addressing an ANC rally at Soccer City near Soweto today, he said he could never accept group rights as he was committed to a nonracial, democratic South Africa. He also said he will ask the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, not to bring the issue of group rights to the negotiating table.

[Begin video recording] [Mandela] We can never accept the concept of group rights. I am going to have, at least I hope to have, several discussions with him before the two delegations sit down again. And, one of the things I am going to urge on him is to abandon the concept of group rights or minority rights without any reservations.

At a time when we wanted to move away from all forms of racialism we do not want discussions which have started so well to be bedeviled by any solution which is based on race. And, I am going to urge him then that he must not bring this issue to any conference between the ANC and the government.

[Announcer, Gillian van Houten] The assistant general secretary of the ANC, Mr. Alfred Nzo, said there was now a possibility of a negotiated settlement. He said a number of issues were raised during the discussions with the government and that all the issues had been dealt with in a positive way.

[Nzo] We are happy to report to you that we concluded positive agreements on all these issues.

[Van Houten] South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said those who attended the talks were committed to the outcome of the talks.

[Slovo] We are committed to every word of the Cape Town agreement. [end recording]

### Government-ANC Talks Assessed

MB0605201490 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 6 May 90

[Report by correspondent Clarence Keyter on 2-4 May South African Government-ANC talks, with comments by ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk, and 6 May studio interview with Stellenbosch University Professor Willie Esterhuysen by Clarence Keyter—recorded]

[Text] The past week has been an historic one for South Africa, starting on Wednesday [2 May] with talks between the government and the ANC [African National Congress], and culminating on Friday [4 May] with a joint news conference and the issuing of the Groote Schuur agreement.

Political correspondent Clarence Keyter, who has been sounding out a broad spectrum of views on the talks, interprets the significance of the breakthrough between the government and the ANC:

[Begin recording] [Keyter] Observers, with the exception of a few, regard the outcome of the past week's talks between the government and the ANC as the prelude to a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations and settlement in the country.

In the wide-ranging reaction on the Groote Schuur agreement between the government and the ANC, it is admitted that the process of peaceful negotiations and agreement on a new constitution does not happen instantly as a result of a first agreement on paper. Observers say it is clear from Friday's agreement and news conference that the largest single success was the resultant and noticeable trust between the government and the ANC as a first step.

Some even say it reminds of (the) trust that has been created between the South African, Angolan, and Cuban delegations leading to a settlement in Namibia. It is accepted by political observers that a spirit of cooperation is the most important factor which has to flow from the Groote Schuur agreement, a spirit which would have to filter through to the constituencies of the two parties involved in the past week's talks and to other groups and organizations in South Africa.

Political commentators are also in agreement that this change of heart could be time-consuming and that it probably will be. They emphasize that this change of heart would have to work down to grass roots. But political commentators warn without hesitation of the many pitfalls ahead mainly because not one of the parties have full control of their constituencies.

Looking at the Groote Schuur agreement and the news conference at the end of the three-day talks, it is clear that both the government and the ANC had made concessions in their joint search for peace. The ANC, in the words of Mr. Mandela, made three important policy shifts. First was the organization's stance on the armed struggle, which signalled a major change from last week's calls:

[Mandela] We are therefore going to look very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle in the light of this agreement.

[Keyter] There was also a change of attitude regarding sanctions:

[Mandela] We are therefore not issuing any new calls nor are we appealing to the international community to do anything other than the strategies on which, at our invitation, they are busy with at present; but we hope that as a result of the agreement which we arrived at and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions.

[Keyter] And, thirdly, Mr. Mandela's view of multiparty participation may have surprised many observers:

[Mandela] There are other interested parties in this regard and it would only be proper, at some stage, to seek their views on the important questions which we have been discussing over the last three days.

[Keyter] On the government's side, there was an important realization of the vacuum which had developed between the ANC leadership in exile and in prison and its constituency in South Africa, resulting in millions of radical, leaderless black youths:

[De Klerk] The interaction and the talks had the additional advantage of allowing people sitting around the table to get to know each other, to really form an impression as to the sincerity of people, as to what makes their minds tick, as to what motivates them; and in that sense of the word I think also one would describe it as a very fruitful and a very positive experience in the sense that it has built better understanding, I think, in both directions, of motivations, of problems, and of why people are doing certain things. I also think it will serve to eradicate certain misunderstandings which might have existed before.

[Keyter] A second shift from the government's side is their commitment to revise security legislation, and I quote from Friday's document: The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities. And, thirdly, the government reiterates its commitment to work toward the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfill the objectives contained in the preamble.

Political observers and commentators stress that while talks are being held in preparation of negotiations, it is important that the government manages and controls the country, such as guaranteeing the safety and security of all the people; that the economic process continue uninterrupted; and that the government build foreign relations as would materialize during the state president's extensive European tour starting next week.

But, while the government runs the country, the working group of experts mentioned in the Groote Schuur agreement will be announced within days. This group will ensure that the momentum of the past week is maintained and that the spirit of mutual trust be carried out further. The expectations are that this group will also take the necessary steps in making the next chapter of the peace process possible.

With me in the studio this evening is Professor Willie Esterhuyse, one of South Africa's well-known political analysts, with his view on the significance of the agreement.

[Esterhuyse] Well, generally speaking, Clarence, I think the real significance is the fact that both parties has agreed that it is better to talk than to shoot. I think that is the general

significance but, I think, very important is what is written into the first paragraph of that agreement. That, I think, is highly significant and very important.

Now, mention is made of the fact that both the government and the ANC has committed themselves to a resolution of violence and intimidation from whatever quarters it comes. Now, I think that is highly significant and it means that both parties to the traditional conflict has now accepted the need for a resolution of the conflict. And there is something else, also, in that first paragraph, namely a commitment by both the government and also the ANC to stability which, I thought, well, I was surprised that it came out after the first talks, that commitment to stability; and then, thirdly, also a commitment to a peaceful process of negotiations, which means that the agreement really says: Listen, we have had enough of conflict in this country, and the parties to the conflict should now do everything possible to stop the violence and to come to a negotiated settlement of our political problems.

[Keyter] What parallel could one draw between the Groote Schuur agreement and other agreements?

[Esterhuyse] What I would like to emphasize is the difference between the two. In the case of the Angolan-Namibian thing, third parties were involved, like the United Nations, etc., and, of course, the Western powers. In the case of the South African agreement—and this, I think, is extremely important—there was no third-party intervention or third-party involvement. It was the two parties to the conflict who reached this particular agreement.

[Keyter] One would probably have to accept the fact that both the government and the ANC have tremendous challenges ahead, and the same would go for other parties who eventually would sit at the negotiating table.

[Esterhuyse] Oh, yes, of course, I [pauses] what we have been witnessing over the last couple of days is only the light in the tunnel. I mean, we have not yet entered the real process of negotiations. First of all, the ANC still has to sell what has been reached and achieved to its constituency, and the ANC has been challenged by the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization].

Likewise, the National Party, or the government, will still have to sell some of their ideas to each constituency being challenged also by the Conservative group and some other right-wing groupings, which is going to be quite a difficult job, and a lot of South Africans belonging to the constituencies of these two parties will have to adapt to completely new ball games, which is going to take some time and also some convincing that will have to be done. [end recording]

**'Confusion' Arises Over Accord**

*MB0705073690 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0700 GMT 7 May 90*

[Text] There seems to be some confusion over what was agreed between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] over the question of monitoring police behavior in Natal's troubled townships.

UD/F's [United Democratic Front] Natal president, Archie Gumede, says the government has agreed to allow the ANC to monitor actions in the Natal townships. Gumede made these remarks over the weekend, elaborating on agreements reached during the talks. He said it had been agreed a mechanism would be set up which would allow incidents in which the police took sides to be brought to the attention of the authorities.

However, this morning's NATAL WITNESS quotes a government source, who said the interpretation given by Gumede did not accurately reflect the central issue of the agreement. The source said it was agreed to set up efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter and that the mechanism to be established will monitor intimidation and violence from both sides.

**Former President P.W. Botha Withdraws From NP**

*MB0505182990 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 5 May 90*

[Text] Former State President Mr. P.W. Botha has withdrawn from the National Party [NP].

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper RAPPORT reports in its early edition that Mr. Botha had confirmed that he had not renewed his recently expired National Party membership.

The reasons given by Mr. Botha were his dissatisfaction with the present NP leadership and the fact that the SA [South African] Communist Party secretary general, Mr. Joe Slovo, had been included in the ANC [African National Congress] delegation which held talks with the government.

Mr. Botha did not want to react to a telephone inquiry by our political staff this evening. He also indicated that he would not make any further comment this weekend.

RAPPORT's article quoted the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, as regretting having to repudiate Mr. Botha but said that the former state president's attack was based on a false premise.

**De Klerk Reacts to Botha's Move**

*MB0605073590 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0600 GMT 6 May 90*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, says the announcement by the former state president, Mr. P.W. Botha, that he allowed his membership of the National Party [NP] to lapse was based on a wrong interpretation. President de Klerk said in reaction to Mr. Botha's attack on the government in the Sunday newspaper, RAPPORT, that it was unfortunate that he would again be forced to repudiate the former state president. President de Klerk said it was a painful task because of the valuable contribution Mr. Botha had made to the NP and South Africa.

President de Klerk said Mr. Botha's statement should be seen against the background of the NP's achievements under his leadership—that a policy of power-sharing had been accepted as a result of his direct initiatives, that negotiations had been started, and an agreement reached with the SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] leader, Mr. Sam Nujoma, against whom the South African security forces had fought for years, and that talks with Mr. Mandela had been held for three years with Mr. Botha's support.

Mr. Botha also initiated the policy that the ANC [African National Congress] could be part of negotiations if it committed itself to a peaceful solution. Mr. de Klerk said Mr. Botha had spoken to Mr. Mandela directly, thus laying the foundation for further talks. Mr. Botha also discussed regularly the prospect of Mr. Mandela's eventual release.

Mr. de Klerk said the facts were public knowledge, and that he was not revealing any secrets. He said the NP was as anticommunist as under the leadership of Mr. Botha, and that the party's fight against communism would continue. He said, however, that changed circumstances warranted different methods. Mr. de Klerk said the NP was indebted to those for whom monuments were erected to ensure that they had not died in vain. For this reason the government was building a new South Africa in which future generations could live in peace.

Mr. de Klerk said the NP was still on the course that Mr. Botha had placed it. He said he thanked Mr. Botha for this, and found it a great pity that Mr. Botha had decided not to renew his membership of the party. Mr. de Klerk said that it was because of Mr. Botha that important initiatives, even through legislation, had been embarked upon to put South Africa on the right path to negotiation.

Mr. Botha said the announcement about him ending his NP membership had been made because of his dissatisfaction with the current NP leadership, and the inclusion of the secretary general of the South African Communist Party, Mr. Joe Slovo, in the ANC delegation that had recently held talks with the government.

**P.W. Botha Discusses De Klerk, NP**

MB0605171490 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans  
6 May 90 pp 1,2

[Text] Former President P.W. Botha, in a sensational move, withdrew from the National Party [NP]. For both him and this party "the hourglass has run out."

One of the causes of Botha's action was the presence of Mr. Joe Slovo, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, at this week's talks with the ANC [African National Congress] at Groote Schuur in Cape Town.

In an exclusive interview at his retirement home in Wildernis, he also said that he distanced himself entirely from the "party leadership and the current course the party is taking."

The former state president says that if he does not speak now, "the monuments of this land will speak."

President F.W. de Klerk, in his reaction, in a special interview with RAPPORT, said that he regretted having to repudiate former President Botha because Botha's attack was based upon a false premise. Nothing the NP and the government are doing or saying at this time is, as a matter of fact, in conflict with what Mr. P.W. Botha advocated or stood for during his tenure.

President de Klerk's statement appears on this page.

Mr. Botha's action—coming at a most inconvenient time for his party—was not altogether unexpected, especially while the government was busy with sensitive deliberations over South Africa's constitutional future. Earlier this year there was already speculation about such a move.

In reply to a question from RAPPORT on what he meant by "the course the National Party is taking," his reply was: "I was and still am a reformer. But... reform while maintaining law and order... and retaining the country's security."

"No abdication. The course the NP has now taken is a road to gradual abdication."

According to Mr. Botha, communism is just as strong and dangerous as always—"and let no one make a mistake about that."

Joe Slovo is an ardent communist who cold-bloodedly sat and planned South Africa's destruction while in London, and...

The ANC supports nationalization and is "embraced and dominated" by communist leaders who have committed violence.

On 14 August last year, Mr. Botha resigned dramatically, on television, from the post of state president. Since that time he has been living at his retirement home in Wildernis in the south of Cape Town.

His retirement took place exactly four years after his so-called Rubicon speech on 15 August 1985 in Durban, a speech which met with a wide response internationally and after which comprehensive sanctions against South Africa began.

On 18 January last year it was revealed that Mr. Botha had suffered a slight stroke. Two weeks later, on 2 February, he was involved in another dramatic development when he, in a letter to the NP caucus, unexpectedly resigned as the chief leader of the National Party. He requested the caucus to immediately elect a new head. In the elections following this action Mr. F.W. de Klerk was elected.

The separation of the post of state president and that of head of the NP, however, led to the fact that the state president held power without a political mandate while the chief leader of the majority party had no powers. In certain political circles this was termed an "untenable situation." Following a long period of strife with his cabinet, President Botha resigned his post on 14 August 1989.

Following this, the former head of state kept silent until this week when, in a statement, he confirmed his withdrawal from the NP.

The statement reads as follows:

"Since my resignation as state president on 14 August 1989, based on the principles which I revealed at that time, I have refrained from participation in party politics. Yet almost daily I have been receiving letters and personal messages from several people trying to persuade me to take a stand on developments. Therefore, I wish to emphasize the following points:

"I have from May 1936 been a listed member of the National Party of the Cape. As for the struggle against communism and terrorism, I have given my views on this, and I still maintain those views.

"I have been and still am in favor of orderly reform for the sake of civilized Christian values, but I am not in favor of gradual abdication."

The statement continues:

"Since the years when I represented the George constituency in Parliament, I had mainly been a listed member of the Wildernis branch of the National Party.

"As is customary in the Cape, an annual opportunity is offered to persons to renew their membership. Because I was approached on this issue, I informed the chairman of the Wildernis branch that I entertained serious objections over several points concerning the present course of the National Party leadership.

"That is why I now prefer not to extend my membership."



Mr. Botha says he has strong views on "what is now taking place in South Africa, but I do not want to discuss these. I withdrew from politics, and I plan to stay out of politics."

As for communism, the ANC, and SACP [South African Communist Party] leader Joe Slovo, he says he wants to repeat his "known stand."

"I do not believe that world communism has changed its stand. Things happened in East Europe. But, communism did not collapse. It is communism's economic policy which collapsed. The Politburo continues to exist. The KGB still exists. The Communist Party continues to dominate East Europe."

"Communism has not changed its stand. The recent Soviet actions against Lithuania are proof of this. When the Lithuanian leaders started to 'make a noise,' the communists cut off their gasoline!"

As for Mr. Joe Slovo, who this week participated in talks with the government as a member of the ANC delegation, he says: "Joe Slovo is the secretary general of the SACP. In London he cold-bloodedly planned terrorist acts against South Africa. Joe Slovo founded Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], the military wing of the ANC."

As for the ANC, Mr. Botha says: "The ANC stands for nationalization. It embraces communism. It is dominated by communist leaders who have committed violence."

"South of Pretoria there is a monument on Klapperkop. It is a monument with the names of the young men who lost their lives during the fight against terrorism."

"If I do not speak, the monuments will..."

Mr. Botha says he wants to make it clear that he has no argument with the executive officials of the National Party branch from which he terminated his membership. "They are good and decent people. We are friends."

Mr. Botha drew RAPPORT's attention to excerpts from two books written about him, one from "Vegter and Herformer" [Fighter and Reformer], compiled by J.J.J. Scholtz; and the other from "P.W.", by Dirk and Johanna de Villiers.

An excerpt from "Vegter and Herformer" reads: "I am grateful that I was perhaps the first person in South Africa who, in 1937, at a National Party congress at Uitenhage, proposed that comprehensive action be taken against communism."

"When I look back, I am grateful that I, as a young man, could see what was coming to South Africa." (NP congress, East London, 29 October 1986)

"Communism has been a pawn of the devil from birth. That is why Moscow and Beijing are following the path

of deceit, violence, revolution, and blood throughout the world." (House of Assembly, 18 February 1972)

"Communism is false economic bravado. Mozambique and Angola were plunged into poverty by it. The antireligious direction being taken is causing people to revolt against each other."

"Several East European and African states remain a living example that socialism and Marxism leave no room for freedom."

An excerpt from the book "P.W." says: "P.W. Botha made his congress-debut with a speech against communism. Communism—Soviet imperialism—would become a type of leitmotiv in his thinking. His career would eventually bring him into direct confrontation with the Marxist threat..."

Asked if it were not true that since 1990 communism was taking a new direction and was becoming "less" of a threat, he replied: "The devil is always a danger..."

#### **Viljoen Acting President During De Klerk's Trip**

*MB0705053090 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 7 May 90*

[Text] The minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, will be sworn in as acting state president at Tuynhuys, in Cape Town, this afternoon for the duration of President F.W. de Klerk's overseas visit.

President de Klerk will fly overseas this week on an extended tour of Europe for talks with government leaders and businessmen.

In a statement issued in Cape Town, President de Klerk announced that the member of Parliament for Sunday's River, Dr. Tertius Delpert, would be appointed deputy minister of planning, and provincial affairs. He said Dr. Delpert would also be sworn in today. His appointment followed an earlier announcement that the minister of planning and provincial affairs, Mr. Hernus Kriel, would be responsible for coordinating specific actions relating to the socioeconomic upliftment in Natal.

President de Klerk said that Dr. Delpert would assist Mr. Kriel in this respect. He said that, as soon as the upliftment in Natal was underway, further changes could be made in the duties of deputy ministers.

He also announced that the deputy minister of mineral, and energy affairs, and of public enterprises, Dr. (Piet) Feltham, would be responsible for the portfolio of deputy minister of transport from tomorrow.

#### **4 May Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**

*MB0405133190*

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Whites, Blacks Against ANC**—"Failure to reach agreement on a new dispensation acceptable to most Whites will be a defeat for the government that would bring the Conservative Party to power," warns the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 30 April. "The ANC [African National Congress], for its part, knows that it cannot topple the government by force—and that the longer the dispute drags on, the greater the success of the Pan-Africanist Congress in winning young Blacks to its cause." The ANC "must also know that not only are most Whites against it, but also a great number of Blacks as well. It cannot hope to run the country on its own, anymore than the Whites can."

**Slovo 'Obstacle' to Negotiation**—"With Communism and Marxist Socialism discredited in Eastern Europe, it would have been nice to think that the ANC was no longer in alliance with the SA Communist Party [SACP]," observes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 2 May in its page 6 editorial. But the ANC-SACP link has been "too firmly established over the decades of exile of leaders of both organisations for it to be broken at this point." THE CITIZEN believes the SACP's Joe Slovo is "still an old-style Communist and still believes in Socialism. To that extent he casts a baleful influence over any economic dispensation which the ANC would introduce if it came to power." Being on the ANC's negotiating team Slovo may "himself be an obstacle to negotiation."

### THE STAR

**State-ANC Talks 'In Tune With Times'**—"Did the Government have a mandate from the electorate to talk to the ANC?" asks Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 4 May in a page 10 editorial. "Probably not, but the Groote Schuur talks are most certainly in tune with the times." Therefore, by walking out of Parliament this week the Conservative Party (CP) showed a "paltry spirit and a blinkered view of white interests only—myopic at that." "Criticism of the CP must apply equally to the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] for its accusations that the ANC, too, has been a 'sell-out' acting without a mandate. The ANC has taken the same calculated risk as the Government by opting for negotiation instead of confrontation." THE STAR hopes that the delegations at this week's talks "will not stumble" because "higher hurdles lie ahead."

### BUSINESS DAY

**ANC-Government Talks 'Hopeful Start'**—South Africans "had better bask while they can in the euphoria surrounding government's first exploratory talks with the ANC, as it may not last," remarks Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 4 May in a page 10 editorial. "Already elements in both communities are accusing either government or the ANC of being sell-outs. It has been an astonishingly hopeful start. South Africans should remember that when tempted to fall into

gloom and despondency at the first indications that the road is actually a rocky one, full of pitfalls."

**Economic Debate Shift Away From Slogans**—Alan Fine writes on the same page: "The ANC/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] economics workshop in Harare this week, and the meeting between the ANC and 400 top businessmen on May 23, are confirmation that the debate on a future economy has now moved beyond sloganising." "Long before a new SA constitution has been negotiated, it appears some important NP [National Party] economic (and other) policy decisions are beginning to take into account the views of the ANC/COSATU alliance." However, "while public positions are being taken—such as the ANC threat to renationalise privatised corporations—compromises are possible. The labour movement, the private sector and government have already begun showing the way in a closely related area—that of developing new and mutually satisfactory labour legislation."

### SOWETAN

**Bophuthatswana Must Stop Detentions**—"President Lucas Mangop's security forces have apparently gone mad, detaining activists left, right and centre in Bophuthatswana," notes Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 4 May in a page 6 editorial. "If President Mangope thinks he can turn the tide of history, he should think again. His little Bananastan was created by Pretoria, and President F.W. de Klerk can dismantle Bophuthatswana by a mere scrawl of his pen. This is what negotiations will be about."

### CAPE TIMES

**Government Must Control Violence**—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 26 April in a page 6 editorial refers to the death of six people in a raid in Botswana, saying the minister of defense announced in December the South African Defense Force (SADF) "would no longer be making cross-border raids. So this, we take it, was not an official SADF operation. Yet who can be certain?" "Incidents such as this compound the growing distrust and unease in the country. It is imperative that the government should be seen to be firmly in control. More than a week after the arms theft from SAAF HQ [South African Air Force headquarters] in Pretoria the chief suspect, rightwing zealot Mr. Pit Rudolph, is still at large."

**De Klerk 'Condoning' Hit Squad Cover-Up**—"The De Klerk government would do well to dispel the impression that it is dragging its feet in exposing the involvement of the SADF's Civil Cooperation Bureau [CBB] in the death squad scandal," warns a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 30 April. "By Mr. De Klerk's own decision, actions beyond this country's borders are excluded from the terms of reference of the Harms Commission" of inquiry into alleged death squads. In Windhoek, the criminal prosecution is at a standstill and the question of who killed Anton Lubowski—and on whose orders they did so—remains

unanswered." "If the Windhoek prosecution fizzles out inconclusively because wanted men are protected by Pretoria, and if the Harms Commission is likewise restricted by its terms of reference from getting at the truth, President de Klerk will stand accused of condoning a cover-up."

#### THE NATAL WITNESS

De Klerk 'Vagueness' on Group Areas Repeal—President de Klerk's declaration of intent to remove statutory discrimination shows "the seas of reality have at last begun to undermine the Mad Hatter's castle that is apartheid," says a page 8 editorial in Pietermaritzburg THE NATAL WITNESS in English on 24 April. But De Klerk's "vagueness" on the timing of the repeal and his refusal to specify what legislation the government proposes to introduce in place of the Group Areas Act, has "come as a disappointment to many." It has also "led to speculation that what he may have in mind is devolution of the question of residence rights to local authorities."

Police Members Resign in 'Droves'—Pietermaritzburg THE NATAL WITNESS in English on 25 April in a page 12 editorial welcomes the "improved financial package and service conditions" announced by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Morale in the police force has been low and members have "been leaving in droves." "Speedily and fully applied, these measures should surely slow the rate of police resignations. They may, in the longer term, reverse the brain drain by attracting to the police force larger numbers of intelligent and truly public-spirited persons who will be an asset both to the force and to the country at large."

#### NEW NATION

Democratic Movement 'Authentic Voice' of People—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 4-10 May in its page 6 editorial says those who have thus far condemned the talks between the government and the ANC have "clearly failed to see that the government has been pushed into its current position by struggles that have been waged over decades at great cost to the people. To fail to recognise this is to fail to understand that there has been a revolution in progress." The talks "will not in themselves automatically catapult us to democracy. That is something we have to continue to strive for." NEW NATION says that "we in the democratic movement"

"are the authentic voice of the people by virtue of our history in struggle, experience and our political programme that takes into account the realities and interests of all South Africans."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

Negotiations About New Constitution—Steven Friedman writes in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 12 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 4-10 May that for the NP to "accept a constituent assembly now would mean accepting majority rule before negotiations begin. For the ANC or other black parties to accept an assembly with a group veto would be to accept minority rights before talks start. So neither is yet ready to agree on a forum for writing a new constitution. These positions can only change in negotiations—deciding who will write the new constitution will be what talks will be about. So negotiations won't begin with an event in which leaders gather to agree on a new system—at best, they might end with it."

#### TIMES OF NAMIBIA

Labor Demands Subjected To Compromise—"In Namibia, Labour made the mistake to tie itself to SWAPO [South-West African People's Party] in the post-independence stage," declares Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 30 April in a page 2 editorial. "By doing that, they muted their voice. The respective interests of SWAPO and Labour no longer coincide. In order to become the voice of Labour again, they would have to break their dependence on a single political group which superimposed its party functionalities onto the Labour movement. As things stand, the celebration of May Day threatens to become a farce. The legitimate demands of Labour would, as a matter of the definition of the situation, be subjected to compromise."

Division in SWAPO Economic Thinking—A page 2 editorial in Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 2 May states: "SWAPO is torn in two. One camp is thinking globally (and with economic unreality) of the working class as part of 'an internationalist proletariat' redesigning society. The other camp is thinking in nationalist or local terms of nation building as a process into which the international economy can be conscripted. SWAPO must decide this fight in their own ranks. It would only be in the interests of Namibia."



## Ethiopia

### Dos Santos Dismisses Minister, State Secretary

MB0505193190 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1900 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, today dismissed Carlos Fernandes from the post of minister of transportation and communications and Eduardo Paulo Bonga from the post of secretary of state for town planning, housing, and water, for laziness and the nonimplementation of legal directives.

To replace the two men, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos appointed Colonel Antonio Paulo Kassoma to the post of minister of transportation and communications and Vitoriano Ferreira Nicolao to the post of secretary of state for town planning, housing, and water.

Antonio Paulo Kassoma has thus ceased to be deputy minister of defense for armaments and military strategy, while Vitoriano Ferreira Nicolao has also ceased to be Luanda Province deputy commissioner for the economic and productive sector.

### Dos Santos Bans New Hard-Currency Stores

MB0505202490 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1900 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has banned the establishment of new hard-currency stores until legal measures regulating their opening and operation have been approved. A notice issued by the head of state directs that hard-currency shops operating unlawfully must regularize their situation with the Ministry of Trade, the Angolan National Bank, the Foreign Exchange Directorate, and the Foreign Investment Directorate.

The notice points out that a proliferation of such stores causes social inequality and weakens the true role of the national currency, the kwanza. The notice adds that failure to implement the directive will be punishable by the law.

### UNITA Claims MPLA Fails To Seize Mavinga

MB0505062290 (Clandestine) KUP in English to  
Southern and Central Africa 0615 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Jamba, Friday, May 4.... [dateline as received] The Luanda government's failure to take the strategies UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] stronghold of Mavinga despite its four month military offensive once more demonstrates that dialogue is the only sure way of bringing about lasting peace to Angola.

The very large amounts of sophisticated war materiel, including battle tanks, military aircraft and the involvement of big numbers of troops in this offensive, are all

factors indicating that the Luanda authorities had invested everything at their disposal into the operation to try and defeat UNITA.

On the contrary the Mavinga offensive is turning out to be one of the biggest and most severe military setbacks inflicted upon the Soviet-backed MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] forces during the past fifteen years of civil war in the country.

Presently, the MPLA units at this front Cuito Cuanavale/Mavinga find themselves in a no-win situation. The troops have been transformed into a rag-tag army permanently being bombarded and more pre-occupied with their own physical survival as UNITA forces daily continue to tighten the siege.

It is worth pointing out that hundreds of MPLA troops, among them many senior officers, have so far lost their lives in this campaign. Among this figure are many experienced soldiers and commanders, and important factor which has undoubtedly have dire consequences on the entire military structure of the MPLA.

With current heightened hopes brought about by new peace efforts designed to try and bring about a negotiated solution to the conflict, many observers agree that the ball is now in the MPLA's court to now show its sincerity and seriousness with regard to the peaceful resolution of the war as UNITA clearly demonstrated.

## Mozambique

### Swazi Prime Minister Discusses Regional Issues

MB0405160390 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER  
in English 3 May 90 p 1

[By Dingane Siziba]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini, last night welcomed two important current developments in Southern Africa: the exploratory talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress [ANC], and discussions between Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and the Mozambican Government to end the banditry in that country. He was addressing a dinner to welcome his visiting delegation in Maputo, Mozambique.

Mr Dlamini told the guests there was now a ray of hope for the people of the subregion. The leaders of Southern Africa could now clearly discern the light of comprehensive peace for the subregion on the other side of a long tunnel.

"Swaziland has always believed in the resolution of differences through peaceful dialogue," the Prime Minister said.

The Prime Minister welcomed with great optimism the prospect of seeing all the people of South Africa jointly participating in the process of deciding their country's future constitutional dispensation.

"We have no illusions, however, about the fact that the road to peace and democracy in the country may be long and indeed difficult," said Mr Dlamini.

He wished all the participants in the South African constitutional discussions every success and God's guidance.

For the sake of lasting peace in South Africa and, indeed, throughout the subregion, the Prime Minister strongly urged all parties to put aside all past political and personal differences and approach the negotiations table in a genuine spirit of compromise, accommodation and reconciliation.

"Swaziland has also learnt, with considerable appreciation, of the peace initiatives that are being pursued by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique in search of a peaceful end to the rebel war in this country," the Prime Minister said.

"We, therefore, share the desire of your excellency's Government to bring about a negotiated end to the current fighting so that the peace-loving people of this great country may at last, be left alone in peace."

Addressing a press conference before departure at the Matsapha Airport in the afternoon, the Prime Minister said the influx of Mozambican refugees and all other Mozambican nationals living in Swaziland, would feature prominently during discussions with his Mozambican hosts.

#### **Meets With President Chissano**

*MB0405191190 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo this afternoon received Swazi Prime Minister Obed Dlamini, who has begun a visit to our country on 2 May.

The Swazi prime minister conveyed greetings from King Mswati III to President Chissano during the meeting.

The Swazi prime minister this morning toured the Soveste clothing factory and the Agroalfa agricultural appliances enterprise, in Maputo city, and the Pequenos Lebombos Dam, in Boane District.

Obed Dlamini was accompanied by Mozambican Security Minister Mariano Matsinhe during his Pequenos Lebombos Dam tour.

#### **Mocumbi, Zimbabwe's Shamuyarira Tour Beira**

*MB0405193390 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] Foreign Ministers Pascoal Mocumbi of Mozambique and Nathan Shamuyarira of Zimbabwe today toured the port of Beira, the Dondo cement barrier factory, and Mafambisse sugar estates. The tour was part

of the third regular meeting between Mozambique and Zimbabwe held in Beira. The two ministers were briefed on the work of those units and other projects.

Nathan Shamuyarira expressed his government's willingness to continue to assist the Mozambican people in their search for peace. He hoped cooperation between Mozambique and Zimbabwe would cover other economic development areas. He was speaking during talks with his Mozambican counterpart in Beira yesterday.

#### **Mocumbi Discusses Draft Constitution Debates**

*MB0605084790 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 5 May 90*

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said in Beira yesterday that the debates on the draft constitution proposals cover all social layers as a means of gathering popular views. He added that the debates are intended to take place in economic and other sectors to allow all citizens to air their views. Pascoal Mocumbi spoke with Sofala Province's correspondents at the end of his four-day visit:

[Begin Mocumbi recording] A fundamental aspect of these debates is that it deepens the citizen's awareness of the constitution as well as of his rights and duties. The debates will enable us to strengthen national unity and consolidate independence from the Rovuma River to the Maputo River. The independence process did not end with the flag-raising ceremony on 25 June 1975. This was an important symbolic step. Independence is being consolidated politically through the creation of institutions representing the will of Mozambicans, and indeed Mozambique. [end recording]

Turning to the debate of the draft constitution proposals among Mozambicans living abroad, Mocumbi said:

[Begin Mocumbi recording] Well, the teams that have been formed to explain the draft constitution proposals abroad have just returned. They still have to report to us. So, I can't give you details yet.

However, during President Chissano's visit to the United States and Europe, we met several Mozambicans who expressed a great deal of interest in the draft constitution proposals. We gave them copies of the draft document, and encouraged them to disseminate the document as well as to make their contributions. There were a number of experts such as Mr. Arouca and Mr. Maximo Dias [Mozambicans exiles in Portugal] who said they would make a written statement on the draft constitution proposals. I believe their statements have already been received at the central office for the organization and debate of the draft constitution proposals. [end recording]

Minister Mocumbi said each of the 150 articles of the draft constitution proposals poses a question to each Mozambican citizen. Mocumbi urged greater participation in the debates.

## Guinea

### Emergency Aid Team Held by Unidentified Group

AB0305145590 Paris AFP in French 1245 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Abidjan, 3 May (AFP)—A team distributing emergency aid to Liberian refugees in Guinea reportedly has been held in Liberia since 1 May by an unidentified group, it was learned in Abidjan Thursday. The team consisted of Ludovic Bidhrist (Belgian Doctors Without Borders), David Kelley (American-Peace Corps), Werner Witt (West German), and Nan Koyoe Kolie (Guinean—Ministry of Health).

The four men were working at the border between Guinea and Liberia, where 50-100,000 Liberians have taken refuge since trouble began 24 December 1989 in Nimba Country in northeast Liberia. No further information is available.

## Guinea-Bissau

### Communique Accuses Senegal of Overflights

AB0305183190 Dakar PANA in French 1113 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Bissau, 3 May (ANG/PANA)—Guinea-Bissau has again appealed to the international community to take decisive action in the search for a solution to its border conflict with Senegal in order to forestall any military confrontation and unnecessary suffering to the peoples of the two countries, an official communique indicated.

Published yesterday in Bissau by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the communique disclosed that a Senegalese "Cessna" type reconnaissance aircraft has again violated Guinea-Bissau airspace on 27 April by flying over the localities of Guidadje and Bigene (north of the country). "Our people, who had to wage a long and hard war for their independence, know very well the kind of sacrifices entailed by war, and will seek, every way possible, to propose reasonable and peaceful solutions that will lead to a peaceful resolution of the border dispute between the two countries," the communique stressed.

The communique of the Guinea-Bissau Ministry of Foreign Affairs further states that Senegal has on several occasions carried out sea, air, and land violations of Guinea-Bissau territory, and that on each occasion, it has always denounced such actions by drawing the attention of the international community to the consequences which could arise from these "belligerent acts." On 21 and 23 April, another Senegalese reconnaissance aircraft spent a long time overflying the Pirada region (eastern Guinea-Bissau). Shortly before then, on 17 April, a Senegalese registered aircraft also violated Guinea-Bissau airspace by flying over the Sucudjaque and Bassor localities located in the north of the country. In another development on 11 April, the Senegalese

Navy arrested a Soviet fishing vessel flying the Guinea-Bissau flag and legally going about its business with a fishing license issued by the Bissau authorities.

The various Guinea-Bissau Foreign Ministry communiqués stated on each occasion that the Bissau Government has always acted in good faith and in the spirit of preserving bonds of good neighborliness. This is borne out by the series of appeals for common sense and moderation which it has never ceased to address to the Dakar authorities in the interest of the two brotherly peoples and peace in the subregion.

## Ivory Coast

### President Approves Multi-Party Political System

AB0305142490 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
1400 GMT 3 May 90

[Excerpt] The cabinet met today, 3 May 1990, under the chairmanship of the head of state, His Excellency Felix Houphouët-Boigny, to examine several items on its agenda, and specifically, the political situation in Ivory Coast.

Concerning the recommendation of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally on multiparty politics, and in line with Article 7 of the Constitution, the head of state and president of the Republic, as the guarantor of the Constitution, endorsed this recommendation and gave instruction to the minister of interior, in conformity with the law, to take all necessary steps toward implementing Article 7 of the Constitution. [passage omitted]

### Opposition Requests Dissolution of Government

AB0505093990 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
0700 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Yesterday at the Novotel Hotel in Abidjan, the Ivorian Popular Front, FPI, one of the parties that asked for official recognition from the government, held a news conference with the local and international press. Here are more details with reporter Bernard Ake for Ivory Coast Radio:

[Begin Ake recording] Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, Ivorian Popular Front secretary general, took this opportunity to express his emotions on his newly acquired freedom of speech after 26 years of underground activities. This has been possible thanks to the decision taken by the Ivorian Government to allow a multiparty political system in Ivory Coast.

For the FPI, 30 April will every year be a special date for the militants of the party. A festival will be organized, to be called the Festival of Freedom, to commemorate this historic date. Yesterday, in the presence of journalists and a huge crowd, Mr. Laurent Gbagbo spoke on three points:

1. The invalid academic year decreed by the government following social troubles;
2. Demands of a multiparty political system; and
3. Future presidential, legislative, and municipal elections.

He said that the decision to declare an invalid academic year was a dangerous decision and politically unacceptable. In order to prevent it, he has asked the government to agree to talks with all discontented people, and not just with the Movement of Students and Pupils of Ivory Coast and the National Union of Students' Parents of Ivory Coast. The FPI is ready to help solve the problem.

In the FPI's opinion, if the government is for a pluralist democracy, it should also accept all the demands this implies: that is, among other things, to cease the practice of using all the party press organs, such as the radio, television, and the IVORIAN NEWS AGENCY to make propaganda for only one party, even if this party is the ruling party. It is therefore essential that these organs be rationally utilized.

Since 1990 is an election year, the FPI is requesting that several measures be taken so that the meaning of democracy not be distorted. It is therefore essential that the legalized parties have access to all documents on the national census and electoral lists; and above all, the National Assembly and the government should be dissolved and a transition government set up including all political factions during the elections period; and the elections should be supervised by a national commission. The government and the parties should help promote a true democracy. This is the hope of the FPI. [end recording]

#### **Workers' Party Holds News Conference 5 May**

*AB0505140290 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
1245 GMT 5 May 90*

[Text] A news conference was held this morning jointly chaired by three members of the Ivorian Workers' Party [PIT], including the first secretary, Francis Wodie. Mr. Francis Wodie was accompanied by Mrs. Angele Gnonsoa, information and press secretary, and Mr. Laurent Akoun, foreign affairs secretary.

As part of the policy of openness initiated by the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic rally [PDCI-RDA] and approved by the government, the opposition parties that have registered for legalization began a series of news conferences yesterday to explain their stand on this policy of openness and the various events experienced by our country. Therefore, after Laurent Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front [FPI], which held a news conference yesterday, Francis Wodie's PIT's today had its turn to receive the national and international press at the Novotel Hotel in Abidjan.

Right at the beginning of the news conference, Mr. Wodie, on behalf of his party, made his position very clear. He expressed satisfaction with the policy of

openness towards a multiparty system, but stated some conditions for this policy to bring about true democracy. Among other things, he said that politics in our country should rid itself of its monolithic aspect. To achieve this, the PIT is asking that a national conference be held that can set up new institutions, new men for a transition period before holding new elections. On these elections, the PIT is demanding that an electoral code be drawn up and free access be provided for all parties to the state information services, the state being above all parties.

The PIT, which describes itself as a leftist party, on the other hand asked for a general policy of dialogue for all concerned parties in order to discuss the country's education problems and define the conditions for reopening the schools.

### **Liberia**

#### **Five Rebels Said Killed by Government Troops**

*AB0305120090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 2 May 90*

[Text] The Government of Liberia has announced the killing of five rebels between Gbarnga and Ganta cities over the weekend. Deputy Information Minister Moses Washington made the announcement today during the regular press briefing at the ministry in Monrovia. He also noted that Liberians were peace-loving people and not warriors.

[Begin Washington recording] Liberia is a peace-loving country, with people who are not warriors. This country is made up of men and women who have made valuable contributions through the international community. We still have men and women who can do even better, but we cannot exchange these people when our resources are being used to contain the rebels. We cannot be exposed to the outside world when our masses and our homes are in shambles because of a senseless crisis.

On the crisis itself, government forces encountered rebel forces, or rebels, on the Sakota-Ganta highway on Sunday [29 April]. As a result of this incident, five rebels were killed, including a woman, who was being (?wooed) by the rebels. The incident occurred while government forces were clearing the Ganta-Gbarnga highway. Because of repeated calls for (?restraint), government forces took about two days to clear the highway, and then they drove away the rebels.

We have heard about renewed fighting in certain parts of Grand Bassa County, as was reported by the BBC. As far as we are concerned officially, this fighting is a hit and run thing for the rebels to leave Nimba, come and hit certain parts of Grand Bassa County, and then go back and take shelter. The Government of Liberia will definitely curb this matter in the shortest possible time. [end recording]



### Delegation Leaves for U.S. To Discuss Crisis

AB0305165690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] It has been announced in Monrovia that a 10-member delegation of political leaders and other individuals has left the country for the United States to discuss with American officials the present crisis in the country. This was disclosed today by Deputy Information Minister Moses Washington at the regular press briefing:

[Begin Washington recording] The minister of information, along with 10 citizens and officials of government, left the country early this morning to travel to the United States. Why are they going there? To hold bilateral talks with the U.S. Government.

It might interest you to know who other members of the delegation are. I will be quick in telling you that the delegation, in fact, is headed by Chancellor Winston Tubman, former justice minister, and that it includes the chairman of the United People's Party, Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews. It also includes Mr. Carlos Smith of the Unity Party, and there are other [words indistinct] officials. Among government officials, we have the minister of post and telecommunications, and we have representative (Warren Blay).

Others in the delegation include Mr. Trohoe Kpakahai, adviser to the president on national and international affairs, and Post and Telecommunications Minister Morris Dukuly. The 10-member delegation also includes the Reverend Levy Moulton, president of the Liberia Council of Churches, Mohamed Wempie, a local newspaper publisher, and Sammy Thompson, a consultant. The delegation is expected to hold discussions with U.S. officials and the Liberian community, as well as other interested groups in the United States.

### Official Briefs Press on Rebel Situation 2 May

AB0305220790 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] In the latest development as the rebel situation continues in the country, the Ministry of Information continues to give its twice-a-week regular press briefing to keep the public abreast of the rebel activity in the country. President Doe last week gave a two-week ultimatum to lay down their arms and turn themselves in for safety.

Following the president's order, and in accordance with government's desire to bring about reconciliation, peace, and harmony in the country, a joint reconciliation committee, comprising prominent Nimba and Grand Gedeh citizens, was set up for the purpose of speaking to the rebels to lay down their arms and turn themselves in. The committee is being chaired by Representative [name indistinct] of Grand Gedeh county, and co-chaired by [name indistinct] of Bo and Nimba Counties. These are

among other efforts being made by the Liberian Government to resolve the current crisis in the country.

With all these appropriate moves and attempts, government, however, said it would not hold any negotiations with the rebel leadership. At yesterday's regular press review, presided over by acting Information Minister Moses Washington, he was asked during the question and answer period how reconciliation with the rebels could be peacefully achieved so as to reach a compromising on the conflict in the country.

[Begin Washington recording] The Government of Liberia, through the president, has said that it would not negotiate with Charles Taylor, whether leader or not—the government will not negotiate [words indistinct]. But the government has maintained that most members of Taylor's organization have decided themselves this [word indistinct] because they are on the move and fighting. But they are [words indistinct] as if there was a need to surrender [words indistinct]. It is because of this discrepancy of his pronouncements on the [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

### Battles Force UN, Japanese Workers To Leave

AB0405123590 Paris AFP in English 1200 GMT  
4 May 90

[Text] Monrovia, May 4 (AFP)—Eighty-four United Nations staff members and several Japanese Embassy dependents and aid workers have left Liberia as fighting between government troops and rebels intensified, officials said here Friday.

The U.N. resident representative here, Michael Heyn, said however that the evacuation of personnel does not mean the U.N. is closing its operations in the West African country, ravaged by four months of rebellion. "We are continuing normal operations," Mr. Heyn told reporters. Mr. Heyn said the exercise, which began Wednesday at the request of the organization's head office in New York, involves only "non-essential staff" which includes people working on projects and their dependants.

Meanwhile, sources at the Japanese Embassy also said a number of Japanese aid workers and dependants of the embassy staff have already left the country for home. The sources did not say how many of the workers and their dependants have left, but said the aid workers will return to Liberia as soon as "conditions permit."

Japan has about 45 volunteers assigned in several Liberian counties under the Japanese Overseas Cooperation volunteers program to help in the education, health, agriculture, forestry and community development sectors. Last month the Japanese Embassy recalled some 10 volunteers who were assigned to Nimba County where fighting erupted December 24.

Hundreds of U.S. and British nationals have already left Liberia in response to warnings from their governments after fighting reportedly spread to within 100 kilometers (60 miles) of the capital.

In a related development, British Airways General Manager David Ranger has denied rumors that the airline office was closing because of the exodus of British and American nationals. "Business is doing fine and at the moment we are very busy," Mr. Tanger told reporters here late Thursday.

Meanwhile, a delegation of Liberian Government ministers and opposition leaders arrived in Washington Thursday for talks with U.S. officials on the rebellion threatening the regime of President Samuel Doe.

Washington, Liberia's main foreign supporter, has criticized troops for killing civilians in its efforts to crush the insurgency and last week the State Department urged Gen. Doe to enter into dialogue with the rebels who are led by former civil servant Charles Taylor. The rebels are believed to be holding a Belgian, an American and a West German involved in relief work near the border with Guinea. Rebels told the humanitarian organization Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) Thursday that they will free the three after questioning them.

Monrovia was calm Friday with people going about their normal activities freely.

### **International Health Workers Disappear**

*AB0305214090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] An international team of health workers working with Liberian refugees in Guinea has failed to return to its base, and it is believed that they are with antigovernment rebels inside Liberia. According to the BBC, the spokesman for the Belgian medical aid organization Medecine Sans Frontieres said it was not clear whether they were being held against their will or [words indistinct]. The rebels have taken foreign workers captive before, but so far all have been released unharmed.

### **Rebel Spokesman Says Israel Involved in Fighting**

*AB0405180390 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 4 May 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Once again, Charles Taylor's rebels in Liberia are claiming all sorts of foreign involvement on President Doe's side in the civil war that erupted last December in Nimba County. Last week, they were claiming that Taiwanese ships were delivering arms to the port of Monrovia and threatened to attack shipping and aircraft to be suspected of carrying weaponry. Now, Charles Taylor's representative in Washington, (Tom Moyou), is passing through London, claiming that Israel is also involved. Robin White asked him exactly what his claim was.

[Begin recording] [(Moyou)] Recently our intelligence people have discovered that a large group of Israeli soldiers arrived in the country, and we understand they were moved into one part of the country, and we have alerted the Israeli Government and told them this is an internal problem, Liberians fighting against Liberians, and there is no reason for you to send troops in there. We do not know whether it is on a government level or some sort of an arrangement made by Israeli businessmen doing business in Liberia, but we do know that there is a large contingent of Israeli agents in Cameroon. And, recently we were informed that those agents have set up a net to try to assassinate Charles in the Danane-Man area of the Ivory Coast. This information was given to us by some very serious information gathering group.

[White] How many Israelis are you talking about?

[(Moyou)] I understand there was about a hundred of them who went to Sino in the Republic of Liberia. Sino is one of the counties where the Israelis have a very large logging operation up there.

[White] Are not you just scaremongering and just inventing stories about foreigners coming? First, we had Taiwanese arms from you, now we have the Isrealis. Is not this all this scaremongering?

[(Moyou)] No, we are not. It is not a scaremonger, we just want to make sure that somebody does not get hurt for no reason. It is not a scaremonger. [end recording]

### **Fire Breaks Out in Monrovia Military Building**

*AB0405220090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] The MacDonald Street Parking was this afternoon the scene of a fire outbreak when a 24-bedroom building owned by one Fofi Kone was gutted by fire. According to Mr. Kone, the building is valued at about \$20,000 and is being leased by government since February 1980 to house some military personnel with their families. Private Francis Zom is a resident of the building. He works at the Defense Ministry and had just returned from school, according to him, and he told ELWA News what he saw.

[Begin recording] [Zom] [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter] Please, may I really know what caused the fire?

[Zom] Well, at this stage I cannot say anything else caused the fire. I have the impression... [changes thought] and nobody was in the room when the fire started in the room. So, it is [passage indistinct].

**President Doe Leaves for Togo, Nigeria 7 May**

AB0705083690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
0709 GMT 7 May 90

[Excerpt] President Samuel Kanyon Doe at the head of a 10-man delegation left Monrovia this morning for Togo and Nigeria respectively, for a one-day working visit. An Executive Mansion release issued last evening said the president will be accompanied by a special delegation consisting of Honorable Tambakai A. Jangaba; President (Temple) of the Liberian Senate; Honorable George Wallace, acting minister of foreign affairs; Honorable Emmanuel Shaw, minister of finance; Jenkins Scott, minister of justice; Moses Washington, acting minister of cooperation. [passage omitted]

**Senegal**

**Dakar Denies Violating Guinea-Bissau's Airspace**

AB0405171490 Paris AFP in French 1518 GMT  
4 May 90

[Text] Dakar, 4, May (AFP)—The Senegalese Air Force did not overfly or violate Guinea-Bissau's airspace, according to reliable sources today in Dakar following publication of a communique by Guinea-Bissau denouncing the repeated violations of its airspace.

The overflights of Guinea-Bissau's airspace by a Cessna aircraft on 17, 21, 23, and 27 April were reportedly carried out by the UNDP [UN Development Programme], which was carrying out an aerial photographic survey of Senegal's livestock, the same source explained.

Meanwhile, the four trawlers, belonging to the Adrien Group, which have been detained by the Guinea-Bissau Navy while fishing in the "disputed zone," have returned to the port of Dakar since Monday. The disputed zone had been awarded to Senegal by the French-Portuguese agreements of 1959 and by the verdict of the Geneva court of arbitration in 1989. Both verdicts have been rejected by Bissau.

The "trawlers war" seems to continue between the two countries, and boat owners explained that the four Senegalese trawlers and their crews were released only because the boat owners paid 380 million CFA francs.

At this very moment, five trawlers, detained by the Senegalese Navy following the Bissau-Dakar dispute, are still in the port of Dakar. Two are Russian: the "Orleonok" and the "Elektron." Two are Chinese: "Haifeng 824" and "Yanyu 2" (a boat for the transshipment of fish), and a Korean vessel, the "Metta." These five ships, operating under Guinea-Bissau license, have already had their goods seized and will be sold at auction in Dakar.

According to informed sources, an "exchange" was initially envisaged by the Senegalese authorities of the boats seized by the Senegalese Navy for the four Senegalese trawlers detained in Bissau.

Now that the Adrien boat owners have paid their fine, observers do not know what fate awaits the trawlers operating under Guinea-Bissau license, which are currently docked in Dakar.



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

8 May 1990

